GEORGE R.

GEORGE, by the Grace of God, King of *Great Britain*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all to whom theſe Preſents ſhall come, Greeting. Whereas Our Truſty and Well beloved BERNARD LINTOT of our City of *London*, Bookſeller, has humbly repreſented unto Us that he is now printing a Tranſlation of the ILIAD of HOMER, from the *Greek*, in Six Volumes in Folio, by ALEXANDER POPE Gent. with large Notes upon each Book: And whereas the ſaid BERNARD LINTOT has informed Us that he has been at a great Expence in carrying on the ſaid Work: and that the ſole Right and Title of the Copy of the ſaid Work is veſted in the ſaid BERNARD LINTOT: He has therefore humbly beſought Us to grant him our Royal Privilege and Licence for the ſole Printing and Publiſhing thereof for the Term of fourteen Years. WE being graciouſly pleaſed to encourage ſo uſeful a Work, are pleaſed to condeſcend to his Requeſt, and do therefore hereby give and grant unto the ſaid BERNARD LINTOT Our Royal Licence and Privilege for the ſole printing and publiſhing the ſaid Six Volumes of the ILIAD of HOMER, tranſlated by the ſaid ALEXANDER POPE, for and during the Term of fourteen Years, to be computed from the Day of the Date hereof, ſtrictly charging and prohibiting all Our Subjects within Our Kingdoms and Dominions to reprint or abridge the ſame, either in the like or any other Volume or Volumes whatſoever; or to import, buy, vend, utter or diſtribute any Copies of the ſame, or any part thereof reprinted beyond the Seas, within the ſaid Term of fourteen Years, without the Conſent and Approbation of the ſaid BERNARD LINTOT, his Heirs, Executors, and Aſſigns, by Writing under his or their Hands and Seals firſt had and obtained, as they and every of them offending herein will anſwer the contrary at their Perils, and ſuch other Penalties as by the Laws and Statutes of this Our Realm may be inflicted: Whereof the Maſter, Wardens and Company of Stationers of Our City of *London*, Commiſſioners, and other Officers of Our Cuſtoms, and all other Our Officers and Miniſters whom it my concern, are to take Notice, that due Obedience be given to Our Pleaſure herein ſignified. Given at Our Court at St. *James's* the ſixth Day of *May* 1715. in the firſt Year of Our Reign.

By His Majeſty's Command,

JAMES STANHOPE.

GEORGE R.

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JAMES STANHOPE.

HOMER's

ILIAD.

ΟΜΗΡΟΣ.

Ex marmore antiquo in Ædibus Farnesiæ Romæ

Mr. Alexander Pope.

G. Vertue s.

FR
MVSEVM
BRITANNICVM

THE ILIAD OF HOMER.

Translated by Mr. *POPE*.

Te ſequor, O Graia gentis Decus! inque tuis nunc
Fixa pedum pono preſſis veſtigia ſignis:
Non ita certandi cupidus, quàm propter amorem,
Quòd te imitari aveo———

LUCRET.

The Second Edition.

LONDON:
Printed by W. Bowyer, for Bernard Lintot
between the *Temple-Gates*. MDCCXX.

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PREFACE.

HOMER is univerſally allow'd to have had the greateſt *Invention* of any writer whatever. The praiſe of judgment *Virgil* has juſtly conteſted with him, and others may have their pretenſions as to particular excellencies; but his Invention remains yet unrival'd. Nor is it a wonder if he has ever been acknowledg'd the greateſt of poets, who moſt excell'd in that which is the very foundation of poetry. It is the Invention that in different degrees diſtinguiſhes all great Genius's: The utmoſt ſtretch of human ſtudy, learning, and induſtry, which maſter every thing beſides, can never attain to this. It furniſhes art with all her materials, and without it, Judgment it ſelf can at beſt but *ſteal wiſely:* For Art is only like a prudent ſteward that lives on managing the riches of Nature. Whatever praiſes may be given to works of judgment, there is not even a ſingle beauty in them but is owing to the invention: As in the moſt regular gardens, however art may carry the greateſt appearance, there is not a plant or flower but is the gift of nature. The firſt can only reduce the beauties of the latter into a more obvious figure, which the common eye may better take in, and is therefore

more entertain'd with them. And perhaps the reaſon why moſt Criticks are inclin'd to preſer a judicious and methodical genius to a great and fruitful one, is, becauſe they find it eaſier for themſelves to purſue their obſervations through an uniform and bounded walk of art, than to comprehend the vaſt and various extent of nature.

Our author's work is a wild paradiſe, where if we cannot ſee all the beauties ſo diſtinctly as in an order'd Garden, it is only becauſe the number of them is infinitely greater. 'Tis like a copious nurſery which contains the ſeeds and firſt productions of every kind, out of which thoſe who follow'd him have but ſelected ſome particular plants, each according to his fancy, to cultivate and beautify. If ſome things are too luxuriant, it is owning to the richneſs of the ſoil; and if others are not arriv'd to perfection or maturity, it is only becauſe they are over-run and oppreſt by thoſe of a ſtronger nature.

It is to the ſtrength of this amazing invention we are to attribute that unequal'd fire and rapture, which is ſo forcible in *Homer*, that no man of a true poetical ſpirit is maſter of himſelf while he reads him. What he writes is of the moſt animated nature imaginable; every thing moves, every thing lives, and is put in action. If a council be call'd, or a battel fought, you are not coldly inform'd of what was ſaid or done as from a third perſon; the reader is hurry'd out of himſelf by the force of the Poet's imagination, and turns in one place to a hearer, in another to a ſpectator. The courſe of his verſes reſembles that of the army he deſcribes,

Οἱ δ' ἴσαν, ὡσεί τε πυρὶ χθὼν πᾶσα νέμοιτο.

They pour along like a fire that ſweeps the whole earth before it. 'Tis however remarkable that his fancy, which

is every where vigorous, is not discover'd immediately at the beginning of his poem in its fullest splendor: It grows in the progress both upon himself and others, and becomes on fire like a chariot-wheel, by its own rapidity. Exact disposition, just thought, correct elocution, polish'd numbers, may have been found in a thousand; but this poetical fire, this *Vivida vis animi*, in a very few. Even in works where all those are imperfect or neglected, this can over-power criticism, and make us admire even while we disapprove. Nay, where this appears, tho' attended with absurdities, it brightens all the rubbish about it, 'till we see nothing but its own splendor. This *Fire* is discern'd in *Virgil*, but discern'd as through a glass, reflected from *Homer*, more shining than fierce, but every where equal and constant: In *Lucan* and *Statius*, it bursts out in sudden, short, and interrupted flashes: In *Milton*, it glows like a furnace kept up to an uncommon ardor by the force of art: In *Shakespear*, it strikes before we are aware, like an accidental fire from heaven: But in *Homer*, and in him only, it burns every where clearly, and every where irresistibly.

I shall here endeavour to shew, how this vast *Invention* exerts itself in a manner superior to that of any Poet, through all the main constituent parts of his work, as it is the great and peculiar Characteristick which distinguishes him from all other authors.

This strong and ruling faculty was like a powerful Star, which in the violence of its course, drew all things within its *vortex*. It seem'd not enough to have taken in the whole circle of arts, and the whole compass of nature; all the inward passions and affections of mankind, to supply his characters; and all the outward forms and images of things for his descriptions; but wanting yet an ampler sphere to expatiate in, he open'd a new and boundless walk for his imagination, and created a world for himself in

the invention of *Fable*. That which *Ariſtotle* calls the *Soul of Poetry*, was firſt breath'd into it by *Homer*. I ſhall begin with conſidering him in this part, as it is naturally the firſt, and I ſpeak of it both as it means the deſign of a poem, and as it is taken for fiction.

Fable may be divided into the *probable*, the *allegorical*, and the *marvellous*. The *probable fable* is the recital of ſuch actions as though they did not happen, yet might, in the common courſe of Nature: Or of ſuch as though they did, become fables by the additional epiſodes and manner of telling them. Of this ſort is the main ſtory of an Epic poem, *the return of* Ulyſſes, *the ſettlement of the* Trojans *in* Italy, or the like. That of the *Iliad* is the *anger of* Achilles, the moſt ſhort and ſingle ſubject that ever was choſen by any Poet. Yet this he has ſupplied with a vaſter variety of incidents and events, and crouded with a greater number of councils, ſpeeches, battles, and epiſodes of all kinds, than are to be found even in thoſe poems whoſe ſchemes are of the utmoſt latitude and irregularity. The action is hurry'd on with the moſt vehement ſpirit, and its whole duration employs not ſo much as fifty days. *Virgil*, for want of ſo warm a genius, aided himſelf by taking in a more extenſive ſubject, as well as a greater length of time, and contracting the deſign of both *Homer*'s poems into one, which is yet but a fourth part as large as his. The other Epic Poets have us'd the ſame practice, but generally carry'd it ſo far as to ſuperinduce a multiplicity of fables, deſtroy the unity of action, and loſe their readers in an unreaſonable length of time. Nor is it only in the main deſign that they have been unable to add to his invention, but they have follow'd him in every epiſode and part of ſtory. If he has given a regular *catalogue* of an *army*, they all draw up their forces in the ſame order. If he has funeral games for *Patroclus*, *Virgil* has the ſame for

Anchiſes,

Anchiſes, and *Statius* (rather than omit them) deſtroys the unity of his action for thoſe of *Archemoras*. If *Ulyſſes* viſit the ſhades, the *Æneas* of *Virgil*, and *Scipio* of *Silius* are ſent after him. If he be detain'd from his return by the allurements of *Calypſo*, ſo is *Æneas* by *Dido*, and *Rinaldo* by *Armida*. If *Achilles* be abſent from the army on the ſcore of a quarrel through half the poem, *Rinaldo* muſt abſent himſelf juſt as long, on the like account. If he gives his hero a ſuit of celeſtial armour, *Virgil* and *Taſſo* make the ſame preſent to theirs. *Virgil* has not only obſerv'd this cloſe imitation of *Homer*, but where he had not led the way, ſupply'd the want from other *Greek* Authors. Thus the ſtory of *Simon* and the taking of *Troy* was copied (ſays *Macrobius*) almoſt word for word from *Piſander*, as the loves of *Dido* and *Æneas* are taken from thoſe of *Medea* and *Jaſon* in *Apollonius*, and ſeveral others in the ſame manner.

To proceed to the *allegorical fable*: If we reflect upon thoſe innumerable knowledges, thoſe ſecrets of nature and phyſical philoſophy, which *Homer* is generally ſuppos'd to have wrapt up in his *allegories*, what a new and ample ſcene of wonder may this conſideration afford us? How fertile will that imagination appear, which was able to cloath all the properties of elements, the qualifications of the mind, the virtues and vices, in forms and perſons; and to introduce them into actions agreeable to the nature of the things they ſhadow'd? This is a field in which no ſucceeding Poets could diſpute with *Homer*; and whatever commendations have been allow'd them on this head, are by no means for their invention in having enlarg'd his circle, but for their judgment in having contracted it. For when the mode of learning chang'd in following ages, and ſcience was deliver'd in a plainer manner; it then became as reaſonable in the more modern Poets to lay it aſide, as it was in *Homer*

ner to make use of it. And perhaps it was no unhappy circumstance for *Virgil*, that there was not in his time that demand upon him of so great an invention, as might be capable of furnishing all those allegorical parts of a poem.

The *marvellous fable* includes whatever is supernatural, and especially the machines of the Gods. If *Homer* was not the first who introduc'd the deities (as *Herodotus* imagines) into the religion of *Greece*, he seems the first who brought them into a system of *Machinery* for Poetry, and such an one as makes its greatest importance and dignity. For we find those authors who have been offended at the literal notion of the Gods, constantly laying their accusation against *Homer* as the undoubted inventor of them. But whatever cause there might be to blame his *machines* in a philosophical or religious view, they are so perfect in the poetick, that mankind have been ever since contented to follow them: None have been able to enlarge the sphere of poetry beyond the limits he has set: Every attempt of this nature has prov'd unsuccessful; and after all the various changes of times and religions, his Gods continue to this day the Gods of poetry.

We come now to the *characters* of his persons, and here we shall find no author has ever drawn so many, with so visible and surprizing a variety, or given us such lively and affecting impressions of them. Every one has something so singularly his own, that no Painter could have distinguish'd them more by their features, than the Poet has by their manners. Nothing can be more exact than the distinctions he has observ'd in the different degrees of virtues and vices. The single quality of *courage* is wonderfully diversify'd in the several characters of the *Iliad*. That of *Achilles* is furious and intractable; that of *Diomede* forward, yet listening to advice and subject to com-

mand: That of *Ajax* is heavy and self-confiding; of *Hector*, active and vigilant: The courage of *Agamemnon* is inspirited by love of empire and ambition, that of *Menelaus* mix'd with softness and tenderness for his people: We find in *Idomeneus* a plain direct soldier, in *Sarpedon* a gallant and generous one. Nor is this judicious and astonishing diversity to be found only in the principal quality which constitutes the main of each character, but even in the under-parts of it, to which he takes care to give a tincture of that principal one. For example, the main characters of *Ulysses* and *Nestor* consist in *wisdom*; and they are distinct in this, that the wisdom of one is *artificial* and *various*, of the other *natural*, *open*, and *regular*. But they have, besides, characters of *courage*; and this quality also takes a different turn in each from the difference of his prudence: for one in the war depends still upon *caution*, the other upon *experience*. It would be endless to produce instances of these kinds. The characters of *Virgil* are far from striking us in this open manner; they lie in a great degree hidden and undistinguish'd, and where they are mark'd most evidently, affect us not in proportion to those of *Homer*. His characters of valour are much alike; even that of *Turnus* seems no way peculiar but as it is in a superior degree; and we see nothing that differences the courage of *Mnestheus* from that of *Sergestus*, *Cloanthus*, or the rest. In like manner it may be remark'd of *Statius*'s heroes, that an air of impetuosity runs thro' them all; the same horrid and savage courage appears in his *Capaneus*, *Tydeus*, *Hippomedon*, &c. They have a parity of character, which makes them seem brothers of one family. I believe, when the reader is led into this track of reflexion, if he will pursue it through the *Epic* and *Tragic* writers, he will be convinced how infinitely superior in this point the invention of *Homer* was to that of all others.

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The *ſpeeches* are to be conſider'd as they flow from the characters, being perfect or defective as they agree or diſagree with the manners of thoſe who utter them. As there is more variety of characters in the *Iliad*, ſo there is of ſpeeches, than in any other poem. *Every thing in it has manners* (as *Ariſtotle* expreſſes it) that is, every thing is acted or ſpoken. It is hardly credible in a work of ſuch length, how ſmall a number of lines are employ'd in narration. In *Virgil* the dramatic part is leſs in proportion to the narrative; and the ſpeeches often conſiſt of general reflexions or thoughts, which might be equally juſt in any perſon's mouth upon the ſame occaſion. As many of his perſons have no apparent characters, ſo many of his ſpeeches eſcape being apply'd and judg'd by the rule of propriety. We oftner think of the author himſelf when we read *Virgil*, than when we are engag'd in *Homer*: All which are the effects of a colder invention, that intereſts us leſs in the action deſcrib'd: *Homer* makes us hearers, and *Virgil* leaves us readers.

If in the next place we take a view of the *ſentiments*, the ſame preſiding faculty is eminent in the ſublimity and ſpirit of his thoughts. *Longinus* has given his opinion, that it was in this part *Homer* principally excell'd. What were alone ſufficient to prove the grandeur and excellence of his ſentiments in general, is that they have ſo remarkable a parity with thoſe of the Scripture: *Duport*, in his *Gnomologia Homerica*, has collected innumerable inſtances of this ſort. And it is with juſtice an excellent modern writer allows, that if *Virgil* has not ſo many thoughts that are low and vulgar, he has not ſo many that are ſublime and noble; and that the *Roman* author ſeldom riſes into very aſtoniſhing ſentiments where he is not fired by the *Iliad*.

If we obſerve his *deſcriptions*, *images*, and *ſimiles*, we ſhall find the invention ſtill predominant. To

what

what elſe can we aſcribe that vaſt comprehenſion of images of every ſort, where we ſee each circumſtance and individual of nature ſummon'd together, by the extent and fecundity of his imagination; to which all things, in their various views, preſented themſelves in an inſtant, and had their impreſſions taken off to perfection, at a heat? Nay, he not only gives us the full proſpects of things, but ſeveral unexpected peculiarities and ſide-views, unobſerv'd by any painter but *Homer*. Nothing is ſo ſurprizing as the deſcriptions of his battels, which take up no leſs than half the *Iliad*, and are ſupply'd with ſo vaſt a variety of incidents, that no one bears a likeneſs to another; ſuch different kinds of deaths, that no two heroes are wounded in the ſame manner; and ſuch a profuſion of noble ideas, that every battel riſes above the laſt in greatneſs, horror, and confuſion. It is certain there is not near that number of images and deſcriptions in any Epic Poet; tho' every one has aſſiſted himſelf with a great quantity out of him: And it is evident of *Virgil* eſpecially, that he has ſcarce any compariſons which are not drawn from his maſter.

If we deſcend from hence to the *expreſſion*, we ſee the bright imagination of *Homer* ſhining out in the moſt enliven'd forms of it. We acknowledge him the father of poetical diction, the firſt who taught that *language of the Gods* to men. His expreſſion is like the colouring of ſome great maſters, which diſcovers itſelf to be laid on boldly, and executed with rapidity. It is indeed the ſtrongeſt and moſt glowing imaginable, and touch'd with the greateſt ſpirit. *Ariſtotle* had reaſon to ſay, He was the only Poet who had found out *living words*; there are in him more daring figures and metaphors than in any good author whatever. An arrow is *impatient* to be on the wing, a weapon *thirſts* to drink the blood of an enemy, and the like. Yet his expreſſion is never too big for the

ſenſe,

ſenſe, but juſtly great in proportion to it: 'Tis the ſentiment that ſwells and fills out the diction, which riſes with it, and forms itſelf about it. For in the ſame degree that a thought is warmer, an expreſſion will be brighter; and as that is more ſtrong, this will become more perſpicuous: Like glaſs in the furnace which grows to a greater magnitude, and refines to a greater clearneſs, only as the breath within is more powerful, and the heat more intenſe.

To throw his language more out of proſe, *Homer* ſeems to have affected the *compound epithets*. This was a ſort of compoſition peculiarly proper to poetry, not only as it heighten'd the *diction*, but as it aſſiſted and fill'd the *numbers* with greater ſound and pomp, and likewiſe conduced in ſome meaſure to thicken the *images*. On this laſt conſideration I cannot but attribute theſe alſo to the fruitfulneſs of his invention, ſince (as he has manag'd them) they are a ſort of ſupernumerary pictures of the perſons or things to which they are join'd. We ſee the motion of *Hector*'s plumes in the epithet Κορυθαίολος, the landſcape of mount *Neritus* in that of Ἐινοσίφυλλος, and ſo of others; which particular images could not have been inſiſted upon ſo long as to expreſs them in a deſcription (tho' but of a ſingle line) without diverting the reader too much from the principal action or figure. As a metaphor is a ſhort ſimile, one of theſe Epithets is a ſhort deſcription.

Laſtly, if we conſider his *verſification*, we ſhall be ſenſible what a ſhare of praiſe is due to his invention in that. He was not ſatisfy'd with his language as he found it ſettled in any one part of *Greece*, but ſearch'd thro' its differing *dialects* with this particular view, to beautify and perfect his numbers: He conſider'd theſe as they had a greater mixture of vowels or conſonants, and accordingly employ'd them as the verſe requir'd either a greater ſmoothneſs or ſtrength.

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What he moſt affected was the *Ionic*, which has a peculiar ſweetneſs from its never uſing contractions, and from its cuſtom of reſolving the diphthongs into two ſyllables, ſo as to make the words open themſelves with a more ſpreading and ſonorous fluency. With this he mingled the *Attic* contractions, the broader *Doric*, and the feebler *Æolic*, which often rejects its aſpirate, or takes off its accent; and compleated this variety by altering ſome letters with the licenſe of poetry. Thus his meaſures, inſtead of being fetters to his ſenſe, were always in readineſs to run along with the warmth of his rapture, and even to give a farther repreſentation of his notions, in the correſpondence of their ſounds to what they ſignify'd. Out of all theſe he has deriv'd that harmony, which makes us confeſs he had not only the richeſt head, but the fineſt ear in the world. This is ſo great a truth, that whoever will but conſult the tune of his verſes, even without underſtanding them (with the ſame ſort of diligence as we daily ſee practis'd in the caſe of *Italian Operas*) will find more ſweetneſs, variety, and majeſty of ſound, than in any other language or poetry. The beauty of his numbers is allow'd by the criticks to be copied but faintly by *Virgil* himſelf, tho' they are ſo juſt to aſcribe it to the nature of the *Latin* tongue. Indeed the *Greek* has ſome advantages both from the natural *ſound* of its *words*, and the turn and *cadence* of its *Verſe*, which agree with the genius of no other language. *Virgil* was very ſenſible of this, and uſed the utmoſt diligence in working up a more intractable language to whatſoever graces it was capable of; and in particular never fail'd to bring the ſound of his line to a beautiful agreement with its ſenſe. If the *Grecian* poet has not been ſo frequently celebrated on this account as the *Roman*, the only reaſon is, that fewer critics have underſtood one language than the other. *Dio-*

nyſius

nyſius of *Halicarnaſſus* has pointed out many of our author's beauties in this kind, in his treatiſe of the *Compoſition of Words*, and others will be taken notice of in the courſe of my Notes. It ſuffices at preſent to obſerve of his numbers, that they flow with ſo much eaſe, as to make one imagine *Homer* had no other care than to tranſcribe as faſt as the *Muſes* dictated; and at the ſame time with ſo much force and inſpiriting vigour, that they awaken and raiſe us like the ſound of a trumpet. They roll along as a plentiful river, always in motion, and always full; while we are born away by a tide of verſe, the moſt rapid, and yet the moſt ſmooth imaginable.

Thus on whatever ſide we contemplate *Homer*, what principally ſtrikes us is his *invention*. It is that which forms the character of each part of his work; and accordingly we find it to have made his fable more *extenſive* and *copious* than any other, his manners more *lively* and *ſtrongly marked*, his ſpeeches more *affecting* and *tranſported*, his ſentiments more *warm* and *ſublime*, his images and deſcriptions more *full* and *animated*, his expreſſion more *rais'd* and *daring*, and his numbers more *rapid* and *various*. I hope, in what has been ſaid of *Virgil* with regard to any of theſe heads, I have no way derogated from his character. Nothing is more abſurd or endleſs, than the common method of comparing eminent writers by an oppoſition of particular paſſages in them, and forming a judgment from thence of their merit upon the whole. We ought to have a certain knowledge of the principal character and diſtinguiſhing excellence of each: It is in *that* we are to conſider him, and in proportion to his degree in *that* we are to admire him. No author or man ever excell'd all the world in more than one faculty, and as *Homer* has done this in *invention*, *Virgil* has in *judgment*. Not that we are to think *Homer* wanted judgment, becauſe

becauſe *Virgil* had it in a more eminent degree; or that *Virgil* wanted invention, becauſe *Homer* poſſeſt a larger ſhare of it: Each of theſe great authors had more of both than perhaps any man beſides, and are only ſaid to have leſs in compariſon with one another. *Homer* was the greater genius, *Virgil* the better artiſt. In one we moſt admire the man, in the other the work. *Homer* hurries and tranſports us with a commanding impetuoſity, *Virgil* leads us with an attractive majeſty: *Homer* ſcatters with a generous profuſion, *Virgil* beſtows with a careful magnificence: *Homer*, like the *Nile*, pours out his riches with a ſudden overflow; *Virgil*, like a river in its banks, with a gentle and conſtant ſtream. When we behold their battels, methinks the two Poets reſemble the Heroes they celebrate: *Homer*, boundleſs and irreſiſtible as *Achilles*, bears all before him, and ſhines more and more as the tumult increaſes; *Virgil*, calmly daring like *Æneas*, appears undiſturb'd in the midſt of the action, diſpoſes all about him, and conquers with tranquillity. And when we look upon their machines, *Homer* ſeems like his own *Jupiter* in his terrors, ſhaking *Olympus*, ſcattering the lightnings, and firing the Heavens; *Virgil*, like the ſame power in his benevolence, counſelling with the Gods, laying plans for empires, and regularly ordering his whole creation.

But after all, it is with great parts, as with great virtues, they naturally border on ſome imperfection; and it is often hard to diſtinguiſh exactly where the virtue ends, or the fault begins. As prudence may ſometimes ſink to ſuſpicion, ſo may a great judgment decline to coldneſs; and as magnanimity may run up to profuſion or extravagance, ſo may a great invention to redundancy or wildneſs. If we look upon *Homer* in this view, we ſhall perceive the chief *objections* againſt him to proceed from ſo noble a cauſe as the exceſs of this faculty.

Among

Among theſe we may reckon ſome of his *marvellous fictions*, upon which ſo much criticiſm has been ſpent, as ſurpaſſing all the bounds of probability. Perhaps it may be with great and ſuperior ſouls, as with gigantick bodies, which exerting themſelves with unuſual ſtrength, exceed what is commonly thought the due proportion of parts, to become miracles in the whole; and like the old heroes of that make, commit ſomething near extravagance, amidſt a ſeries of glorious and inimitable performances. Thus *Homer* has his *ſpeaking horſes*, and *Virgil* his *myrtles diſtilling blood*, where the latter has not ſo much as contriv'd the eaſy intervention of a Deity to ſave the probability.

It is owing to the ſame vaſt invention, that his *ſimiles* have been thought too exuberant and full of circumſtances. The force of this faculty is ſeen in nothing more, than in its inability to confine itſelf to that ſingle circumſtance upon which the compariſon is grounded: It runs out into embelliſhments of additional images, which however are ſo manag'd as not to overpower the main one. His ſimiles are like pictures, where the principal figure has not only its proportion given agreeable to the original, but is alſo ſet off with occaſional ornaments and proſpects. The ſame will account for his manner of heaping a number of compariſons together in one breath, when his fancy ſuggeſted to him at once ſo many various and correſpondent images. The reader will eaſily extend this obſervation to more objections of the ſame kind.

If there are others which ſeem rather to charge him with a defect or narrowneſs of genius, than an exceſs of it; thoſe ſeeming defects will be found upon examination to proceed wholly from the nature of the times he liv'd in. Such are his *groſſer repreſentations* of the *Gods*, and the vicious and *imperfect manners* of his *Heroes*, which will be treated of in the following

following * *Essay*: But I must here speak a word of the latter, as it is a point generally carry'd into extremes, both by the censurers and defenders of *Homer*. It must be a strange partiality to antiquity, to think with Madam *Dacier*, "that † those times and manners are so much the more excellent, as they are more contrary to ours." Who can be so prejudiced in their favour as to magnify the felicity of those ages, when a spirit of revenge and cruelty reign'd thro' the world, when no mercy was shewn but for the sake of lucre, when the greatest Princes were put to the sword, and their wives and daughters made slaves and concubines? On the other side, I would not be so delicate as those modern criticks, who are shock'd at the *servile offices* and mean employments in which we sometimes see the Heroes of *Homer* engag'd. There is a pleasure in taking a view of that simplicity in opposition to the luxury of succeeding ages; in beholding Monarchs without their guards, Princes tending their flocks, and Princesses drawing water from the springs. When we read *Homer*, we ought to reflect that we are reading the most ancient author in the heathen world; and those who consider him in this light, will double their pleasure in the perusal of him. Let them think they are growing acquainted with nations and people that are now no more; that they are stepping almost three thousand years back into the remotest antiquity, and entertaining themselves with a clear and surprizing vision of things no where else to be found, the only authentick picture of that ancient world. By this means alone their greatest obstacles will vanish; and what usually creates their dislike, will become a satisfaction.

* *See the Articles of* Theology *and* Morality, *in the third part of the Essay.*

† *Preface to her* Homer.

This

This conſideration may farther ſerve to anſwer for the conſtant uſe of the ſame *epithets* to his Gods and Heroes, ſuch as the *far-darting Phœbus*, the *blue-ey'd Pallas*, the *ſwift-footed Achilles*, &c. which ſome have cenſured as impertinent and tediouſly repeated. Thoſe of the Gods depended upon the powers and offices then believ'd to belong to them, and had contracted a weight and veneration from the rites and ſolemn devotions in which they were us'd: They were a ſort of attributes with which it was a matter of religion to ſalute them on all occaſions, and which it was an irreverence to omit. As for the *epithets* of great men, Monſ. *Boileau* is of opinion, that they were in the nature of *Sirnames*, and repeated as ſuch; for the *Greeks* having no names deriv'd from their fathers, were oblig'd to add ſome other diſtinction of each perſon; either naming his parents expreſly, or his place of birth, profeſſion, or the like: As *Alexander* ſon of *Philip*, *Herodotus* of *Halicarnaſſus*, *Diogenes* the *Cynic*, *&c.* *Homer* therefore complying with the cuſtom of his country, us'd ſuch diſtinctive additions as better agreed with poetry. And indeed we have ſomething parallel to theſe in modern times, ſuch as the names of *Harold Hareſoot*, *Edmund Ironſide*, *Edward Long-ſhanks*, *Edward* the *black-prince*, *&c.* If yet this be thought to account better for the propriety than for the repetition, I ſhall add a farther conjecture. *Heſiod* dividing the world into its different ages, has plac'd a fourth age between the brazen and the iron one, of *Heroes diſtinct from other men, a divine race, who fought at* Thebes *and* Troy, *are called Demi-Gods, and live by the care of* Jupiter *in the iſlands of the bleſſed* *, Now among the divine honours which were paid them, they might have this alſo in common with the Gods,

* Heſiod, *lib.* 1. *v.* 155, &c.

not to be mention'd without the ſolemnity of an epithet, and ſuch as might be acceptable to them by its celebrating their families, actions, or qualities.

What other cavils have been rais'd againſt *Homer* are ſuch as hardly deſerve a reply, but will yet be taken notice of as they occur in the courſe of the work. Many have been occaſion'd by an injudicious endeavour to exalt *Virgil* which is much the ſame, as if one ſhould think to raiſe the ſuperſtructure by undermining the foundation: One would imagine by the whole courſe of their parallels, that theſe Criticks never ſo much as heard of *Homer*'s having written firſt; a conſideration which whoever compares theſe two Poets ought to have always in his eye. Some accuſe him for the ſame things which they overlook or praiſe in the other; as when they prefer the fable and moral of the *Æneis* to thoſe of the *Iliad*, for the ſame reaſons which might ſet the *Odyſſes* above the *Æneis*: as that the Heroe is a wiſer man: and the action of the one more beneficial to his country than that of the other: Or elſe they blame him for not doing what he never deſign'd; as becauſe *Achilles* is not as good and perfect a Prince as *Æneas*, when the very moral of his Poem requir'd a contrary character: It is thus that *Rapin* judges in his compariſon of *Homer* and *Virgil*. Others ſelect thoſe particular paſſages of *Homer*, which are not ſo labour'd as ſome that *Virgil* drew out of them: This is the whole management of *Scaliger* in his *Poetices*. Others quarrel with what they take for low and mean expreſſions, ſometimes thro' a falſe delicacy and refinement, oftner from an ignorance of the graces of the original: and then triumph in the aukwardneſs of their own tranſlations: This is the conduct of *Perault* in his *Parallels*. Laſtly, there are others, who pretending to a fairer proceeding, diſtinguiſh between the perſonal merit of *Homer*, and that of his *work*; but when they come to aſſign the cauſes

cauſes of the great reputation of the *Iliad*, they found it upon the ignorance of his times, and the prejudice of thoſe that followed: And in purſuance of this principle, they make thoſe accidents (ſuch as the contention of the cities, *&c.*) to be the cauſes of his fame, which were in reality the conſequences of his merit. The ſame might as well be ſaid of *Virgil*, or any great author, whoſe general character will infallibly raiſe many caſual additions to their reputation. This is the method of Monſ. *de la motte*; who yet confeſſes upon the whole, that in whatever age *Homer* had liv'd, he muſt have been the greateſt Poet of his nation, and that he may be ſaid in this ſenſe to be the maſter even of thoſe who ſurpaſs'd him.

In all theſe objections we ſee nothing that contradicts his title to the honour of the chief *Invention*; and as long as this (which is indeed the characteriſtic of Poetry it ſelf) remains unequal'd by his followers, he ſtill continues ſuperior to them. A cooler judgment may commit fewer faults, and be more approv'd in the eyes of *one ſort* of Criticks: but that warmth of fancy will carry the loudeſt and moſt univerſal applauſes, which holds the heart of a reader under the ſtrongeſt enchantment. *Homer* not only appears the Inventor of poetry, but excels all the inventors of other arts in this, that he has ſwallow'd up the honour of thoſe who ſucceeded him. What he has done admitted no increaſe, it only left room for contraction or regulation. He ſhew'd all the ſtretch of fancy at once; and if he has fail'd in ſome of his flights it was but becauſe he attempted every thing. A work of this kind ſeems like a mighty Tree which riſes from the moſt vigorous ſeed, is improv'd with induſtry, flouriſhes, and produces the fineſt fruit; nature and art conſpire to raiſe it; pleaſure and profit join to make it valuable; and they who find the juſteſt faults, have only ſaid, that a few branches (which

run luxuriant thro' a richneſs of nature) might be lopp'd into form to give it a more regular appearance.

Having now ſpoken of the beauties and defects of the original, it remains to treat of the tranſlation, with the ſame view to the chief characteriſtic. As far as *that* is ſeen in the main parts of the poem, ſuch as the fable, manners, and ſentiments, no tranſlator can prejudice it but by wilful omiſſions or contractions. As it alſo breaks out in every particular image, deſcription, and ſimile; whoever leſſens or too much ſoftens thoſe, takes off from this chief character. It is the firſt grand duty of an interpreter to give his author entire and unmaim'd; and for the reſt, the diction and verſification only are his proper province; ſince theſe muſt be his own, but the others he is to take as he finds them.

It ſhould then be conſider'd what methods may afford ſome equivalent in our language for the graces of theſe in the *Greek*. It is certain no literal tranſlation can be juſt to an excellent original in a ſuperior language: but it is a great miſtake to imagine (as many have done) that a raſh paraphraſe can make amends for this general defect; which is no leſs in danger to loſe the ſpirit of an ancient, by deviating into the modern manners of expreſſion. If there be ſometime a darkneſs, there is often a light in antiquity, which nothing better preſerves than a verſion almoſt literal. I know no liberties one ought to take, but thoſe which are neceſſary for tranſfuſing the ſpirit of the original, and ſupporting the poetical ſtyle of the tranſlation: and I will venture to ſay, there have not been more men miſled in former times by a ſervile dull adherence to the letter, than have been deluded in ours by a chimerical inſolent hope of raiſing and improving their author. It is not to be doubted that the *fire* of the poem is what a tranſlator

ſhould principally regard, as it is moſt likely to expire in his managing: However it is his ſafeſt way to be content with preſerving this to his utmoſt in the whole, without endeavouring to be more than he finds his author is, in any particular place. 'Tis a great ſecret in writing to know when to be plain, and when poetical and figurative; and it is what *Homer* will teach us, if we will but follow modeſtly in his footſteps. Where his diction is bold and lofty, let us raiſe ours as high as we can; but where his is plain and humble, we ought not to be deterr'd from imitating him by the fear of incurring the cenſure of a mere *Engliſh* Critick. Nothing that belongs to *Homer* ſeems to have been more commonly miſtaken than the juſt pitch of his ſtyle: Some of his tranſlators having ſwell'd into fuſtian in a proud confidence of the *ſublime*; others ſunk into flatneſs in a cold and timorous notion of *ſimplicity*. Methinks I ſee theſe different followers of *Homer*, ſome ſweating and ſtraining after him by violent leaps and bounds (the certain ſigns of falſe mettle) others ſlowly and ſervilely creeping in his train, while the Poet himſelf is all the time proceeding with an unaffected and equal majeſty before them. However of the two extremes one could ſooner pardon frenzy than frigidity: No author is to be envy'd for ſuch commendations as he may gain by that character of ſtyle, which his friends muſt agree together to call *ſimplicity*, and the reſt of the world will call *dulneſs*. There is a graceful and dignify'd ſimplicity, as well as a bald and ſordid one, which differ as much from each other as the air of a plain man from that of a ſloven: 'Tis one thing to be tricked up, and another not to be dreſs'd at all. Simplicity is the mean between oſtentation and ruſticity.

This pure and noble ſimplicity is no where in ſuch perfection as in the *ſcripture* and our author. One may affirm with all reſpect to the inſpired writings, that

that the *divine Spirit* made uſe of no other words but what were intelligible and common to men at that time, and in that part of the world; and as *Homer* is the author neareſt to thoſe, his ſtyle muſt of courſe bear a greater reſemblance to the ſacred books than that of any other writer. This conſideration (together with what has been obſerv'd of the parity of ſome of his thoughts) may methinks induce a tranſlator on the one hand to give into ſeveral of thoſe general phraſes and manners of expreſſion, which have attain'd a veneration even in our language from being uſed in the *Old Teſtament*; as on the other, to avoid thoſe which have been appropriated to the Divinity, and in a manner conſign'd to myſtery and religion.

For a farther preſervation of this air of ſimplicity, a particular care ſhould be taken to expreſs with all plainneſs thoſe *moral ſentences* and *proverbial ſpeeches* which are ſo numerous in this Poet. They have ſomething venerable, and as I may ſay oracular, in that unadorn'd gravity and ſhortneſs with which they are deliver'd: a grace which would be utterly loſt by endeavouring to give them what we call a more ingenious (that is a more modern) turn in the paraphraſe.

Perhaps the mixture of ſome *Graciſms* and old words after the manner of *Milton*, if done without too much affectation, might not have an ill effect in a verſion of this particular work, which moſt of any other ſeems to require a venerable antique caſt. But certainly the uſe of modern terms of war and government, ſuch as *platoon*, *campagne*, *junto*, or the like (into which ſome of his tranſlators have fallen) cannot be allowable; thoſe only excepted, without which it is impoſſible to treat the ſubjects in any living language.

There are two peculiarities in *Homer*'s diction which are a ſort of *marks* or *moles*, by which every common eye diſtinguiſhes him at firſt ſight: Thoſe who are not his greateſt admirers look upon them as defects, and

those who are, seem pleased with them as beauties. I speak of his *compound epithets* and of his *repetitions*. Many of the former cannot be done literally into English without destroying the purity of our language. I believe such should be retain'd as slide easily of themselves into an English-compound, without violence to the ear or to the receiv'd rules of composition; as well as those which have receiv'd a sanction from the authority of our best poets, and are become familiar thro' their use of them; such as the *cloud-compelling Jove*, &c. As for the rest, whenever any can be as fully and significantly expres't in a single word as in a compounded one, the course to be taken is obvious.

Some that cannot be so turn'd as to preserve their full image by one or two words, may have justice done them by circumlocution; as the epithet εἰνοσίφυλλος to a mountain, would appear little or ridiculous translated literally *leaf-shaking*, but affords a majestic idea in the *periphrasis*: *The lofty mountain shakes his waving woods*. Others that admit of differing significations, may receive an advantage by a judicious variation according to the occasions on which they are introduc'd. For example, the epithet of *Apollo*, ἑκηβόλος, or *far-shooting*, is capable of two explications; one literal in respect of the darts and bow, the ensigns of that God; the other allegorical with regard to the rays of the sun: Therefore in such places where *Apollo* is represented as a God in person, I would use the former interpretation, and where the effects of the sun are describ'd, I would make choice of the latter. Upon the whole, it will be necessary to avoid that perpetual repetition of the same epithets which we find in *Homer*, and which, tho' it might be accommodated (as has been already shewn) to the ear of those times, is by no means so to ours: But one may wait for opportunities of placing them, where they derive an additional beauty from the occasions

caſions on which they are employed; and in doing this properly, a tranſlator may at once ſhew his fancy and his judgment.

As for *Homer*'s *repetitions*; we may divide them into three ſorts; of whole narrations and ſpeeches, of ſingle ſentences, and of one verſe or hemiſtich. I hope it is not impoſſible to have ſuch a regard to theſe, as neither to loſe ſo known a mark of the author on the one hand, nor to offend the reader too much on the other. The repetition is not ungraceful in thoſe ſpeeches where the dignity of the ſpeaker renders it a ſort of inſolence to alter his words; as in the meſſages from Gods to men, or from higher powers to inferiors in concerns of ſtate, or where the ceremonial of religion ſeems to require it, in the ſolemn forms of prayers, oaths, or the like. In other caſes, I believe the beſt rule is to be guided by the nearneſs, or diſtance, at which the repetitions are plac'd in the original: When they follow too cloſe one may vary the expreſſion, but it is a queſtion whether a profeſs'd tranſlator be authorized to omit any: If they be tedious, the author is to anſwer for it.

It only remains to ſpeak of the *verſification*. *Homer* (as has been ſaid) is perpetually applying the ſound to the ſenſe, and varying it on every new ſubject. This is indeed one of the moſt exquiſite beauties of poetry, and attainable by very few: I know only of *Homer* eminent for it in the *Greek*, and *Virgil* in *Latin*. I am ſenſible it is what may ſometimes happen by chance, when a writer is warm, and fully poſſeſt of his image: however it may be reaſonably believed they deſign'd this, in whoſe verſe it ſo manifeſtly appears in a ſuperior degree to all others. Few readers have the ear to be judges of it, but thoſe who have will ſee I have endeavour'd at this beauty.

Upon the whole, I muſt confeſs my ſelf utterly incapable of doing juſtice to *Homer*. I attempt him in

no other hope but that which one may entertain without much vanity, of giving a more tolerable copy of him than any entire tranſlation in verſe has yet done. We have only thoſe of *Chapman*, *Hobbs*, and *Ogilby*. *Chapman* has taken the advantage of an immeaſurable length of verſe, notwithſtanding which there is ſcarce any paraphraſe more looſe and rambling than his. He has frequent interpolations of four or ſix lines, and I remember one in the thirteenth book of the *Odyſſes*, ỳ. 312. where he has ſpun twenty verſes out of two. He is often miſtaken in ſo bold a manner, that one might think he deviated on purpoſe, if he did not in other places of his notes inſiſt ſo much upon verbal trifles. He appears to have had a ſtrong affectation of extracting new meanings out of his author, inſomuch as to promiſe in his rhyming preface, a poem of the myſteries he had reveal'd in *Homer*; and perhaps he endeavoured to ſtrain the obvious ſenſe to this end. His expreſſion is involved in fuſtian, a fault for which he was remarkable in his original writings, as in the tragedy of *Buſſy d' Amboiſe*, *&c.* In a word, the nature of the man may account for his whole performance; for he appears from his preface and remarks to have been of an arrogant turn, and an enthuſiaſt in poetry. His own boaſt of having finiſh'd half the *Iliad* in leſs than fifteen weeks, ſhews with what negligence his verſion was performed. But that which is to be allowed him, and which very much contributed to cover his defects, is a daring fiery ſpirit that animates his tranſlation, which is ſomething like what one might imagine *Homer* himſelf would have writ before he arriv'd to years of diſcretion.

Hobbes has given us a correct explanation of the ſenſe in general, but for particulars and circumſtances he continually lopps them, and often omits the moſt beautiful. As for its being eſteem'd a cloſe tranſlation, I doubt not many have been led into that error

error by the ſhortneſs of it, which proceeds not from his following the original line by line, but from the contractions above-mentioned. He ſometimes omits whole ſimiles and ſentences, and is now and then guilty of miſtakes, into which no writer of his learning could have fallen, but thro' careleſneſs. His poetry, as well as *Ogilby*'s, is too mean for criticiſm.

It is a great loſs to the poetical world that Mr. *Dryden* did not live to tranſlate the *Iliad*. He has left us only the firſt book, and a ſmall part of the ſixth; in which if he has in ſome places not truly interpreted the ſenſe, or preſerved the antiquities, it ought to be excuſed on account of the haſte he was obliged to write in. He ſeems to have had too much regard to *Chapman*, whoſe words he ſometimes copies, and has unhappily follow'd him in paſſages where he wanders from the original. However, had he tranſlated the whole work, I would no more have attempted *Homer* after him than *Virgil*, (his verſion of whom notwithſtanding ſome human errors) is the moſt noble and ſpirited tranſlation I know in any language. But the fate of great Genius's is like that of great Miniſters, tho' they are confeſſedly the firſt in the commonwealth of letters, they muſt be envy'd and calumniated only for being at the head of it.

That which in my opinion ought to be the endeavour of any one who tranſlates *Homer*, is above all things to keep alive that ſpirit and fire which makes his chief character: In particular places, where the ſenſe can bear any doubt, to follow the ſtrongeſt and moſt poetical, as moſt agreeing with that character; to copy him in all the variations of his ſtyle, and the different modulations of his numbers; to preſerve, in the more active or deſcriptive parts, a warmth and elevation; in the more ſedate or narrative, a plainneſs and ſolemnity; in the ſpeeches, a fullneſs and perſpicuity; in the ſentences, a ſhortneſs and gra-

vity: Not to neglect even the little figures and turns on the words, nor ſometimes the very caſt of the periods; neither to omit or confound any rites or cuſtoms of antiquity: Perhaps too he ought to include the whole in a ſhorter compaſs, than has hitherto been done by any tranſlator, who has tolerably preſerved either the ſenſe or poetry. What I would farther recommend to him, is to ſtudy his author rather from his own text, than from any commentaries, how learned ſoever, or whatever figure they may make in the eſtimation of the world; to conſider him attentively in compariſon with *Virgil* above all the ancients, and with *Milton* above all the moderns. Next theſe, the Archbiſhop of *Cambray*'s *Telemachus* may give him the trueſt idea of the ſpirit and turn of our author, and *Boſſu*'s admirable treatiſe of the Epic poem the juſteſt notion of his deſign and conduct. But after all, with whatever judgment and ſtudy a man may proceed, or with whatever happineſs he may perform ſuch a work, he muſt hope to pleaſe but a few; thoſe only who have at once a taſte of poetry, and competent learning. For to ſatisfy ſuch as want either, is not in the nature of this undertaking; ſince a mere modern wit can like nothing that is not *modern*, and a pedant nothing that is not *Greek*.

What I have done is ſubmitted to the publick, from whoſe opinions I am prepared to learn; tho' I fear no judges ſo little as our beſt poets, who are moſt ſenſible of the weight of this taſk. As for the worſt, whatever they ſhall pleaſe to ſay, they may give me ſome concern as they are unhappy men, but none as they are malignant writers. I was guided in this tranſlation by judgments very different from theirs, and by perſons for whom they can have no kindneſs, if an old obſervation be true, that the ſtrongeſt antipathy in the world is that of fools to men of wit. Mr. *Addiſon* was the firſt whoſe advice determin'd me

me to undertake this task, who was pleas'd to write to me upon that occasion in such terms as I cannot repeat without vanity. I was obliged to Sir *Richard Steele* for a very early recommendation of my undertaking to the publick. Dr. *Swift* promoted my interest with that warmth with which he always serves his friend. The humanity and frankness of Sir *Samuel Garth* are what I never knew wanting on any occasion. I must also acknowledge with infinite pleasure, the many friendly offices, as well as sincere criticisms of Mr. *Congreve*, who had led me the way in translating some parts of *Homer*, as I wish for the sake of the world he had prevented me in the rest. I must add the names of Mr. *Rowe* and Dr. *Parnell*, tho' I shall take a farther opportunity of doing justice to the last, whose good nature (to give it a great panegyrick) is no less extensive than his learning. The favour of these gentlemen is not entirely undeserved by one who bears them so true an affection. But what can I say of the honour so many of the *Great* have done me, while the *first names* of the age appear as my subscribers, and the most distinguish'd patrons and ornaments of learning as my chief encouragers. Among these it is a particular pleasure to me to find, that my highest obligations are to such who have done most honour to the name of Poet: That his Grace the Duke of *Buckingham* was not displeas'd I should undertake the Author to whom he has given (in his excellent *Essay*) the finest praise he ever yet receiv'd.

Read Homer once, *and you can read no more;*
For all things else appear so mean and poor,
Verse will seem Prose: yet often *on him look,*
And you will hardly need another book.

That the Earl of *Halifax* was one of the first to favour me, of whom it is hard to say whether the

advancement of the polite arts is more owing to his generoſity or his example. That ſuch a genius as my Lord *Bolingbroke*, not more diſtinguiſh'd in the great ſcenes of buſineſs, than in all the uſeful and entertaining parts of learning, has not refus'd to be the critick of theſe ſheets, and the patron of their writer. And that ſo excellent an imitator of *Homer* as the noble author of the Tragedy of *Heroick Love*, has continu'd his partiality to me, from my writing Paſtorals, to my attempting the *Iliad*. I cannot deny my ſelf the pride of confeſſing, that I have had the advantage not only of their advice for the conduct in general, but their correction of ſeveral particulars of this tranſlation.

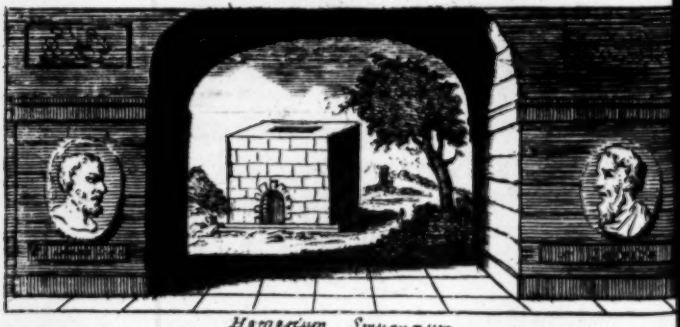
I could ſay a great deal of the pleaſure of being diſtinguiſh'd by the Earl of *Canarvon*, but it is almoſt abſurd to particularize any one generous action in a perſon whoſe whole life is a continu'd ſeries of them. The Right Honourable Mr. *Stanhope*, the preſent Secretary of State, will pardon my deſire of having it known that he was pleas'd to promote this affair. The particular zeal of Mr. *Harcourt* (the ſon of the late Lord Chancellor) gave me a proof how much I am honour'd in a ſhare of his friendſhip. I muſt attribute to the ſame motive that of ſeveral others of my friends, to whom all acknowledgments are render'd unneceſſary by the privileges of a familiar correſpondence: And I am ſatisfy'd I can no way better oblige men of their turn, than by my ſilence.

In ſhort, I have found more patrons than ever *Homer* wanted. He would have thought himſelf happy to have met the ſame favour at *Athens*, that has been ſhewn me by its learn'd Rival, the Univerſity of *Oxford*. If my author had the *Wits* of after-ages for his defenders, his tranſlator has had the *Beauties* of the preſent for his advocates; a pleaſure too great to be changed for any fame in reverſion. And I can hard-

ly

ly envy him thoſe pompous honours he receiv'd after death, when I reflect on the enjoyment of ſo many agreeable obligations, and eaſy friendſhips, which make the ſatisfaction of life. This diſtinction is the more to be acknowledg'd, as it is ſhewn to one whoſe pen has never gratify'd the prejudices of particular *parties*, or the vanities of particular *men*. Whatever the ſucceſs may prove, I ſhall never repent of an undertaking in which I have experienc'd the candour and friendſhip of ſo many perſons of merit; and in which I hope to paſs ſome of thoſe years of youth that are generally loſt in a circle of follies, after a manner neither wholly unuſeful to others, nor diſagreeable to my ſelf.

PREFACE.



Homerum Smyrnæum

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AN

ESSAY

ON THE

LIFE, WRITINGS *and* LEARNING

OF

HOMER.

THERE is ſomething in the mind of man, which goes beyond bare curioſity, and even carries us on to a ſhadow of friendſhip with thoſe great genius's whom we have known to excel in former ages. Nor will it appear leſs to any one, who conſiders how much it partakes of the nature of friendſhip; how it compounds itſelf of an admiration rais'd by what we meet

meet with concerning them; a tendency to be farther acquainted with them, by gathering every circumſtance of their lives; a kind of complacency in their company, when we retire to enjoy what they have left; an union with them in thoſe ſentiments they approve; and an endeavour to defend them, when we think they are injuriouſly attack'd, or even ſometimes with too partial an affection.

There is alſo in mankind a ſpirit of envy or oppoſition, which makes them uneaſy to ſee others of the ſame ſpecies ſeated far above them in a ſort of perfection. And this, at leaſt ſo far as regards the fame of writers, has not always been known to dye with a man, but to purſue his remains with idle traditions, and weak conjectures; ſo that his name, which is not to be forgotten, ſhall be preſerv'd only to be ſtain'd and blotted. The controverſy, which was carry'd on between the author and his enemies, while he was living, ſhall ſtill be kept on foot; not entirely upon his own account, but on theirs who live after him; ſome being fond to praiſe extravagantly, and others as raſhly eager to contradict his admirers. This proceeding, on both ſides, gives us an image of the firſt deſcriptions of war, ſuch as the *Iliad* affords; where a Heroe diſputes the field with an army 'till it is his time to dye, and then the battel, which we expected to fall of courſe, is renew'd about the body; his friends contending that they may embalm and honour him, his enemies that they may caſt it to the dogs and vultures.

There are yet others of a low kind of taſte, who, without any malignity to the character of a great author, leſſen the dignity of their ſubject by inſiſting too meanly upon little particularities. They imagine it the part of an hiſtorian to omit nothing they meet with, concerning him; and gather every thing without

out any distinction, to the prejudice or neglect of the more noble parts of his character: like those trifling painters, or sculptors, who bestow infinite pains and patience upon the most insignificant parts of a figure, till they sink the grandeur of the whole, by finishing every thing with the heatest want of judgment.

Besides these, there is a fourth sort of men, who pretend to divest themselves of partiality on both sides, and to get above that imperfect idea of their subject, which little writers fall into; who propose to themselves a calm search after truth, and a rational adherence to probability in their historical collections: Who neither wish to be led into the fables of poetry, nor are willing to support the falsehoods of a malignant criticism; but, endeavouring to steer in a middle way, have obtain'd a character of failing least in the choice of materials for history, tho' drawn from the darkest ages.

Being therefore to write something concerning a Life, which there is little prospect of our knowing, after it has been the fruitless enquiry of so many ages, and which has however been thus differently treated by historians, I shall endeavour to speak of it not as a certainty, but as the tradition, opinion, or collection of authors, who have been suppos'd to write of *Homer* in these four preceding methods, to which we also shall add some farther conjectures of our own. After his life has been thus rather talk'd of than written, I shall consider him historically as an author, with regard to those works which he has left behind him: In doing which, we may trace the degrees of esteem they have obtain'd in different periods of time, and regulate our present opinion of them, by a view of that age in which they were writ.

I. *Stories of* Homer, *which are the effects of* extravagant admiration.

I. If we take a view of *Homer* in thoſe fabulous traditions which the admiration of the ancient heathens has occaſion'd, we find them running to ſuperſtition, and multiply'd and independent on one another, in the different accounts which are given with reſpect to *Ægypt* and *Greece*, the two native countreys of fable.

We have one in [a] *Euſtathius* moſt ſtrangely fram'd, which *Alexander Paphius* has reported concerning *Homer*'s birth and infancy. That "he was born in *Ægypt* of *Damaſageras* and *Æthra*, and brought up by "a daughter of *Orus*, the prieſt of *Iſis*, who was herſelf a propheteſs, and from whoſe breaſts drops of "honey would frequently diſtil into the mouth of "the infant. In the night-time the firſt ſounds he "utter'd were the notes of nine ſeveral birds; in the "morning he was found playing with nine doves in "the bed: The *Sybil*, who attended him, us'd to be "ſeiz'd with a poetical fury, and utter verſes, in "which ſhe commanded *Damaſageras* to build a Temple to the Muſes: This he perform'd in obedience "to her inſpiration, and related all theſe things to "the child when he was grown up; who, in memory of the doves which play'd with him during his "infancy, has in his works preferr'd this bird to the "honour of bringing *Ambroſia* to *Jupiter*".

One would think a ſtory of this nature, ſo fit for age to talk of, and infancy to hear, were incapable of being handed down to us. But we find the tradition again taken up to be heighten'd in one part, and carry'd forward in another. [b] *Heliodorus*, who had heard of this claim which *Ægypt* put in for *Homer*,

[a] Euſtathius *in Od.* 12.

[b] Heliod. Æthiop. *l.* 3.

endeavours

ndeavours to ſtrengthen it by naming *Thebes* for the articular place of his birth. He allows too, that a rieſt was his reputed father, but that his real father ccording to the opinion of *Ægypt*, was *Mercury*: He ays, "That when the Prieſt was celebrating the "Rites of his countrey, and therefore ſlept with his "wife in the Temple, the God had knowledge of "her, and begot *Homer*: That he was born with "tufts of hair on his [c] thigh, as a ſign of unlawful "generation, from whence he was call'd *Homer* by "the nations through which he wander'd: That he "himſelf was the occaſion why this ſtory of his di-"vine extraction is unknown; becauſe he neither "told his name, race, nor countrey, being aſham'd "of his exile, to which his reputed father drove "him from among the conſecrated youths, on ac-"count of that mark, which their Prieſts eſteem'd a "teſtimony of an inceſtuous birth."

Theſe are the extravagant ſtories by which men, who have not been able to expreſs how much they dmire him, tranſcend the bounds of probability to ay ſomething extraordinary. The mind, that be-omes dazled with the ſight of his performances, lo-es the common idea of a man in the fanſy'd ſplendor f perfection: It ſees nothing leſs than a God worthy o be his father, nothing leſs than a Propheteſs de-erving to be his Nurſe; and, growing unwilling that e ſhould be ſpoken of in a language beneath its ima-inations, delivers fables in the place of hiſtory.

But whatever has thus been offer'd to ſupport the laim of *Ægypt*, they who plead for *Greece* are not o be accus'd for coming ſhort of it. Their fancy oſe with a refinement above that of their maſters, nd frequently the veil of fiction is wrought fine e-

[c] Ὁ μηρὸς, Femur.

nough

nough to be ſeen through, ſo that it hardly hides th
meaning it is made to cover, from the firſt glance o
the imagination. For a proof of this, we may men
tion that poetical genealogy which is deliver'd for *Ho*
mer's, in the [d] *Greek* Treatiſe of the contention be
tween him and *Heſiod*, and but little vary'd by th
relation of it in *Suidas*.

" The Poet *Linus*, (ſay they) was born of *Apoll*
" and *Thooſe* the daughter of *Neptune*. *Pierus* of *L*
" *nus*: *Œagrus* of King *Pierus* and the Nymph *M*
" *thone*: *Orpheus* of *Œagrus* and the Muſe *Calliop*
" From *Orpheus* came *Othrys*; from him *Harmonides*
" from him *Philoterpus*; from him *Euphemus*; fro
" him *Epiphrades*, who begot *Menalops*, the fathe
" of *Dius*; *Dius* had *Heſiod* the Poet and *Perſes* b
" *Pucamede*, the daughter of *Apollo*: Then *Perſ*
" had *Mæon*, on whoſe daughter *Crytheis*, the rive
" *Meles* begot *Homer*."

Here we behold a wonderful genealogy, contriv
induſtriouſly to raiſe our idea to the higheſt, whe
Gods, Goddeſſes, Muſes, Kings, and Poets link in
deſcent; nay, where Poets are made to depend,
it were, in cluſters upon the ſame ſtalk beneath on
another. If we conſider too that *Harmonides* is de
riv'd from harmony, *Philoterpus* from love of delig
Euphemus from beautiful diction, *Epiphrades* from i
telligence, and *Pucamede* from prudence; it may n
be improbable, but the inventors meant, by a fictio
of this nature, to turn ſuch qualifications into perſon
as were agreeable to his character, for whom the lin
was drawn: So that every thing, divine or grea
will thus come together by the extravagant indu
gence of fancy, while it turns itſelf ſometimes to a
miration, and ſometimes to allegory.

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[d] Ἀγὼν Ὁμήρ. καὶ Ἡσιόδ.

Afte

After this fabulous tree of his pedigree, we may gularly view him in one paſſage concerning his birth, hich, though it differs in a circumſtance from what as been here deliver'd, yet carries on the ſame air, nd regards the ſame traditions. There is a ſhort life *Homer* attributed to *Plutarch*, wherein a third part *Ariſtotle* on poetry, which is now loſt, is quoted r an account of his uncommon birth, in this man- r. "At the time when *Neleus*, the ſon of *Codrus*, led the colony which was ſent into *Ionia*, there was in the iſland of *Io* a young girl, compreſs'd by a *Genius*, who delighted to aſſociate with the *Muſes*, and ſhare in their conſorts. She, finding herſelf with child, and being touch'd with the ſhame of what had happen'd to her, remov'd from thence to a place call'd *Ægina*. There ſhe was taken in an excurſion made by robbers, and being brought to *Smyrna*, which was then under the *Lydians*, they gave her to *Maon* the King, who marry'd her upon account of her beauty. But while ſhe walk'd on the bank of the river *Meles*, ſhe brought forth *Homer*, and expir'd. The infant was taken by *Maon*, and bred up as his ſon, 'till the death of that Prince." And from this point of the ſtory the oet is let down into his traditional poverty. Here e ſee, tho' he be taken out of the lineage of *Meles*, here we met him before, he has ſtill as wonderful a ſe invented for him; he is ſtill to ſpring from a *Demigod*, one who was of a poetical diſpoſition, from hom he might inherit a ſoul turn'd to poetry, and ceive an aſſiſtance of heavenly inſpiration.

In his life the moſt general tradition concerning m is his *blindneſs*, yet there are ſome who will not low even this to have happen'd after the manner in hich it falls upon other men: Chance and ſickneſs e excluded; nothing leſs than Gods and heroes muſt viſibly concern'd about him. Thus we find among the

the different accounts which [e] *Hermias* has collected concerning his blindneſs, that when *Homer* reſolv to write of *Achilles*, he had an exceeding deſire fill his mind with a juſt idea of ſo glorious a Hero Wherefore, having paid all due honours at his tom he intreats that he may obtain a ſight of him. T heroe grants his Poet's petition, and riſes in a glo ous ſuit of armour, which caſt ſo unſufferable a ſple dor, that *Homer* loſt his eyes, while he gaz'd for t enlargement of his notions.

If this be any thing more than a mere fable, o would be apt to imagine it inſinuated his contracting blindneſs by too intenſe an application while he wro his *Iliad*. But it is a very pompous way of letting into the knowledge of ſo ſhort a truth: It looks as men imagin'd the lives of poets ſhould be poetical written; that to ſpeak plainly of them, were to ſpe contemptibly; or that we debaſe them, when th are plac'd in leſs glorious company than thoſe exalte ſpirits which they themſelves have been fond to cel brate. We may however in ſome meaſure be reco cil'd to this laſt idle fable, for having occaſion'd beautiful an Epiſode in the *Ambra* of *Politian*. Th which does not inform us in a hiſtory, may pleaſe in its proper ſphere of poetry.

II. *Stories of* Homer *proceeding from* envy.

II. Such ſtories as theſe have be the effects of a ſuperſtitious fondne and of the aſtoniſhment of men at wh they conſider in a view of perfectio But neither have all the ſame taſte, nor do they equally ſubmit to the ſuperiority of others, nor be that human nature, which they know to be imperfe ſhould be prais'd in an extream without oppoſitio

[e] Hermias *in Phad. Plat.* Leo Allat. *de Patr. Hom. C.* 10.

Fro

om ſome principles of this kind have ariſen a ſecond
t of ſtories, which glance at *Homer* with malignant
poſitions, and endeavour to throw a diminiſhing
over his life, as a kind of anſwer to thoſe who
ght to aggrandize him injudiciouſly.

Under this head we may reckon thoſe ungrounded
jectures with which his adverſaries aſperſe the very
ſign and proſecution of his travels, when they infi-
ate, that they were one continued ſearch after au-
ors who had written before him, and particularly
on the ſame ſubject, in order to deſtroy them, or
rob them of their inventions.

Thus we read in [f] *Diodorus Siculus*, "That there
was one *Daphne*, the daughter of *Tireſias*, who
from her inſpirations obtain'd the title of a *Sibyl*.
She had a very extraordinary genius, and being
made prieſteſs at *Delphos*, wrote oracles with won-
derful elegance, which *Homer* ſought for, and a-
dorn'd his poems with ſeveral of her verſes." But
is plac'd ſo far in the fabulous age of the world,
t nothing can be aver'd of her: And as for the
ſes now aſcrib'd to the *Sibyls*, they are more mo-
n than to be able to confirm the ſtory; which, as
is univerſally aſſented to, diſcovers that whatever
re is in them in common with *Homer*, the com-
ers have rather taken from him; perhaps to
engthen the authority of their work by the pro-
tion of this tradition.

The next inſinuation we hear is from *Suidas*, that
lamedes, who fought at *Troy*, was famous for poe-
, and wrote concerning that war in the *Dorick* let-
which he invented, probably much againſt *Aga-
mnon* and *Ulyſſes*, his mortal enemies. Upon this
count ſome have fanſy'd his works were ſuppreſs'd

[f] Diod. Sic. l. 4.

by

by *Agamemnon*'s poſterity, or that their entire d
ſtruction was contriv'd and effected by *Homer* wh
he undertook the ſame ſubject. But ſurely the wo
of ſo conſiderable a man, when they had been a
to bear up ſo long a time as that which paſs'd betwe
the ſiege of *Troy*, and the flouriſhing of *Homer*, m
have been too much diſpers'd, for one of ſo mea
condition as he is repreſented, to have deſtroy'd
every place, tho' he had been never ſo much aſſiſt
by the vigilant temper of envy. And we may ſay to
that what might have been capable of raiſing this pr
ciple in him, muſt be capable of being in ſome m
ſure eſteem'd, and of having at leaſt one line of
preſerv'd to us.

After him, in the order of time, we meet with
whole ſet of names, to whom the maligners of
mer would have him oblig'd, without being able
prove their aſſertion. *Suidas* mentions *Corinnus Ili
ſis*, the ſecretary of *Palamedes*, who writ a poem
on the ſame ſubject, but no one is produc'd as hav
ſeen it. [g] *Tzetzes* mentions (and from *Johannes
lala* only) *Siſyphus* the *Coan*, ſecretary of *Teucer*,
it is not ſo much as known if he writ verſe or pr
Beſides theſe, are *Dictys* the *Cretan*, ſecretary to
meneus, and *Dares* the *Phrygian* an attendant of *He*
who have ſpurious treatiſes paſſing under their nam
From each of theſe is *Homer* ſaid to have borrow'd
whole argument; ſo inconſiſtent are theſe ſtories w
one another.

The next names we find, are *Demodocus*, wh
Homer might have met at *Corcyra*, and *Phemius*, wh
he might have met at *Ithaca*: the one (as [h] *Pluta*
ſays) having according to tradition written the wa
Troy, the other the return of the *Grecian* captains.

[g] Tzetzes *Chil.* 5. *Hiſt.* 29.

[h] Plutarch *on Muſick.*

eſe are only two names of friends, which he is eas'd to honour with eternity in his poem, or two fferent pictures of himſelf as author of the *Iliad* and *dyſſes*, or entirely the children of his imagination, ithout any particular alluſion. So that his uſage ere, puts me in mind of his own *Vulcan* in the [i] *Iliad*: he God had caſt two ſtatues, which he endued with e power of motion; and it is ſaid preſently after, at he is ſcarce able to go unleſs they ſupport him.

It is reported by ſome, ſays [k] *Ptolemæus Epheſtio*, That there was before *Homer*, a woman of *Memphis*, call'd *Phantaſia*, who writ of the wars of *Troy*, and the wandrings of *Ulyſſes*. Now *Homer* arriving at *Memphis* where ſhe had laid up her works, and getting acquainted with *Phanitas*, whoſe buſineſs it was to copy the ſacred writings, he obtain'd a ſight of theſe, and follow'd entirely the ſcheme ſhe had drawn." But this is a wild ſtory, which ſpeaks an *Ægyptian* woman with a *Greek* name, and who ver was heard of but upon this account. It apars indeed from his knowledge of the *Ægyptian* rning, that he was initiated into their myſteries, d for ought we know by one *Phanitas*. But if we nſider what the name of the woman ſignifies, it ems only as if from being us'd in a figurative exeſſion, it had been miſtaken afterwards for a proper me. And then the meaning will be, that having ther'd as much information concerning the *Grecian* d *Trojan* ſtory, as he could be furniſh'd with from e accounts of *Ægypt*, which were generally mix'd ith fancy and fable, he wrought out his plans of the *ad* and the *Odyſſey*.

We paſs all theſe ſtories, together with the *little ad* of *Siagrus*, mention'd by [l] *Ælian*. But one can-

[i] Iliad 18. [k] Ptol. Ep. *Excerpt. apud* Photium, *l.* 5.
[l] Ælian *l.* 14. *c.* 21.

not

not leave this ſubject without reflecting on the depr
ciating humour, and odd induſtry of man, whic
ſhews itſelf in raiſing ſuch a number of inſinuatio
that claſh with each other, and in ſpiriting up ſuch
crowd of unwarranted names to ſupport them. N
can we but admire at the contradictory nature of t
proceeding; that names of works, which either n
ver were in being, or never worthy to live, ſhou
be produc'd only to perſuade us that the moſt laſti
and beautiful poem of the ancients was taken out
them. A beggar might be content to patch up a g
ment with ſuch ſhreds as the world throws away, b
it is never to be imagin'd an Emperor would ma
his robes of them.

After *Homer* had ſpent a conſiderable time in trav
we find him towards his age introduc'd to ſuch an actio
as tends to his diſparagement. It is not enough
accuſe him for ſpoiling the dead, they raiſe a livi
author, by whom he muſt be baffled in that qualific
tion on which his fame is founded.

There is in [m] *Heſiod* an account of an ancient po
tical contention at the funeral of *Amphidamas*,
which, he ſays, he obtain'd the prize, but does n
mention from whom he carry'd it. There is alſo
mong the [n] *Hymns* aſcrib'd to *Homer*, a prayer to
nus for ſucceſs in a poetical diſpute, but it neith
mentions where, nor againſt whom. But thou
they have neglected to name their antagoniſts, othe
have ſince taken care to fill up the ſtories by putti
them together. The making two ſuch conſidera
names in poetry engage, carries an amuſing pomp
it, like making two heroes of the firſt rank enter t
liſts of combat. And if *Homer* and *Heſiod* had th

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[m] Heſiod *Op. & dierum*, *l.* 2. *v.* 272, &c. [n] Ho
Hymn. 2. *ad Venerem.*

parti

parties among the *Grammarians*, here was an excellent opportunity for *Heſiod*'s favourers to make a ſacrifice of *Homer*. Hence a bare conjecture might ſpread into a *tradition*, then the tradition give occaſion to an *epigram*, which is yet extant, and again the *epigram* (for want of knowing the time it was writ in) be alledg'd as a *proof* of that conjecture from whence it ſprung. After this, a [o] whole treatiſe was written upon it, which appears not very ancient, becauſe it mentions *Adrian*: The ſtory agrees in the main with the ſhort account we find in [p] *Plutarch*, "That *Ganictor*, the ſon of *Amphidamas*, King of *Eubœa*, being us'd to celebrate his father's funeral games, invited from all parts men famous for ſtrength and wiſdom. Among theſe *Homer* and *Heſiod* arriv'd at *Chalcis*. The King *Panidas* preſided over the conteſt, which being finiſh'd, he decreed the *Tripos* to *Heſiod*, with this ſentence, That the Poet of peace and huſbandry better deſerv'd to be crown'd, than the Poet of war and contention. Whereupon *Heſiod* dedicated the prize to the muſes, with this inſcription,

"Ησίοδος Μούσαις Ἑλικωνίδι τόνδ' ἀνέθηκεν,
"Ὕμνῳ νικήσας ἐν Χαλκίδι θεῖον Ὅμηρον."

Which are two lines taken from that place in *Heſiod* where he mentions no antagoniſt, and alter'd, that the two names might be brought in, as is evident by comparing them with theſe,

Ὕμνῳ νικήσαντα φέρειν τρίποδ' ἀτώντα,
Τὸν μὲν Ἐγὼ Μούσης Ἑλικωνιάδεσσ' ἀνέθηκα.

[o] Ἀγὼν Ὁμήρου καὶ Ἡσιόδου.
[p] Plut. *Banquet of the ſeven wiſe men.*

To anſwer this ſtory, we may take notice that *Heſiod* is generally plac'd after *Homer*. *Grævius*, his own commentator, ſets him a hundred years lower; and whether he were ſo or no, yet [r] *Plutarch* has ſlightly paſs'd the whole account as a fable. Nay, we may draw an argument againſt it from *Heſiod* himſelf: He had a love of fame which caus'd him to engage at the funeral games, and which went ſo far as to make him record his conqueſt in his own works; had he defeated *Homer*, the ſame principle would have made him mention a name that could have ſecur'd his own to immortality. A Poet who records his glory, would not omit the nobleſt circumſtance, and *Homer*, like a captive prince, had certainly grac'd the triumph of his adverſary.

Towards the latter end of his life, there is another ſtory invented, which makes him conclude it in a manner altogether beneath the greatneſs of a genius. We find in the life ſaid to be written by *Plutarch*, a tradition, "That he was warn'd by an oracle to be-"ware of the *young mens riddle*. This remain'd "long obſcure to him, 'till he arriv'd at the iſland *Ios*. "There as he ſat to behold the fiſhermen, they pro-"pos'd to him a riddle in verſe, which he being "unable to anſwer, dy'd for grief." This ſtory refutes it ſelf, by carrying ſuperſtition at one end, and folly at the other. It ſeems conceiv'd with an air of deriſion, to lay a great man in the duſt after a fooliſh manner. The ſame ſort of hand might have fram'd that tale of *Ariſtotle*'s drowning himſelf becauſe he could not account for the *Euripus*: The deſign is the ſame, the turn the ſame; and all the difference, that the great men are each to ſuffer in his character, the one by a *poetical riddle*, the other by a *philoſophical*

[r] Plut. *Symp. l.* 5. §. 2.

problem

roblem. But theſe are actions which can only proceed from the meanneſs of pride, or extravagance of madneſs: A ſoul enlarg'd with knowledge (ſo vaſtly as that of *Homer*) better knows the proper ſtreſs which is to be laid upon every incident, and the proportion of concern, or careleſneſs, with which it ought to be affected. But it is the fate of narrow capacities to meaſure mankind by a falſe ſtandard, and imagine the great, like themſelves, capable of being diſconcerted by little occaſions; to frame their malignant fables according to this imagination, and to ſtand detected by it as by an evident mark of ignorance.

III. *Stories of* Homer *proceeding from* trifling curioſity.

III. The third manner in which the life of *Homer* has been written, is but an amaſſing of all the traditions and hints which the writers could meet with, great or little, in order to tell a ſtory of him to the world. Perhaps the want of choice materials might put them upon the neceſſity; or perhaps an injudicious deſire of ſaying all they could, occaſion'd the fault. However it be, a life compos'd of trival circumſtances, which (tho' it give a true account of ſeveral paſſages) ſhews a man but little in that light in which he was moſt famous, and has hardly any thing correſpondent to the idea we entertain of him: Such a life, I ſay, will never anſwer rightly the demand the world has upon an Hiſtorian. Yet the moſt formal account we have of *Homer* is of this nature, I mean that which is ſaid to be collected by *Herodotus*. It is, in ſhort, an unſupported minute treatiſe, compos'd of events which lie within the compaſs of probability, and belong to the loweſt ſphere of life. It ſeems to be entirely conducted by the ſpirit of a *Grammarian*; ever abounding with *extempore verſes*, as if it were to prove

a thing ſo unqueſtionable as our author's title to rapture; and at the ſame time the occaſions are ſo poorly invented, that they miſbecome the warmth of a poetical imagination. There is nothing in it above the life which a *Grammarian* might lead himſelf; nay, it is but ſuch a one as they commonly do lead, the higheſt ſtage of which is to be *maſter of a ſchool*. But becauſe this is a treatiſe to which writers have had recourſe for want of a better, I ſhall give the following abſtract of it.

Homer was born at *Smyrna*, about one hundred ſixty eight years after the ſiege of *Troy*, and ſix hundred twenty two years before the *expedition* of *Xerxes*. His mother's name was *Crytheis*, who proving unlawfully with child, was ſent away from *Cumæ* by her uncle, with *Iſmenias*, one of thoſe who led the colony to *Smyrna*, then building. A while after, as ſhe was celebrating a feſtival with other women on the banks of the river *Meles*, ſhe was deliver'd of *Homer*, whom ſhe therefore nam'd *Meleſigenes*. Upon this ſhe left *Iſmenias*, and ſupported herſelf by her labour, 'till *Phemius* (who taught a ſchool in *Smyrna*) fell in love with her, and marry'd her. But both dying in proceſs of time, the ſchool fell to *Homer*, who manag'd it with ſuch wiſdom, that he was univerſally admir'd both by natives and ſtrangers. Amongſt theſe latter was *Mentes*, a maſter of a ſhip from *Leucadia*, by whoſe perſuaſions and promiſes he gave up his ſchool and went to travel: With him he viſited *Spain* and *Italy*, but was left behind at *Ithaca* upon account of a defluxion in his eyes. During his ſtay he was entertain'd by one *Mentor*, a man of fortune, juſtice, and hoſpitality, and learn'd the principal incidents of *Ulyſſes*'s life. But at the return of *Mentes*, he went from thence to *Colophon*, where, his defluxion renewing, he fell entirely blind. Upon this he could think of no better expedient than to go back to *Smyrna*, where perhaps

perhaps he might be ſupported by thoſe who knew him, and have the leiſure to addict himſelf to poetry. But there he found his poverty encreaſe, and his hopes of encouragement fail; ſo that he remov'd to *Cumæ*, and by the way was entertain'd for ſome time at the houſe of one *Tychius* a leather-dreſſer. At *Cumæ* his poems were wonderfully admir'd, but when he propos'd to eternize their town if they would allow him a ſalary, he was anſwer'd, that there would be no end of maintaining all the *Dunoi*, or *blind men*, and hence he got the name of *Homer*. From *Cumæ* he went to *Phocæa*, where one *Theſtorides* (a ſchool-maſter alſo) offer'd to maintain him if he would ſuffer him to tranſcribe his verſes: This *Homer* complying with thro' mere neceſſity, the other had no ſooner gotten them, but he remov'd to *Chios*; there the poems gain'd him wealth and honour, while the author himſelf hardly earn'd his bread by repeating them. At laſt, ſome who came from *Chios* having told the people that the ſame verſes were publiſh'd there by a ſchool-maſter, *Homer* reſolv'd to find him out. Having therefore landed near that place, he was receiv'd by one *Glaucus* a ſhepherd (at whoſe door he had like to have been worried by dogs) and carry'd by him to his maſter at *Boliſſus*, who admiring his knowledge, entruſted him with the education of his children. Here his praiſe began to ſpread, and *Theſtorides* who heard of his neighbourhood, fled before him. He remov'd however ſome time afterwards to *Chios*, where he ſet up a ſchool of poetry, gain'd a competent fortune, marry'd a wife, and had two daughters, the one of which dy'd young, the other was marry'd to his patron at *Boliſſus*. Here he inſerted in his poems the names of thoſe to whom he had been moſt oblig'd, as *Mentes*, *Phemius*, *Mentor*, and *Tychius*; and reſolving for *Athens*, he made honourable mention of that city, to prepare the *Athe-*

nians

nians for a kind reception. But as he went, the ſhip put in at *Samos*, where he continu'd the whole win-ter, ſinging at the houſes of great men, with a train of boys after him. In ſpring he went on board again in order to proſecute his journey to *Athens*, but land-ing by the way at *Ios*, he fell ſick, dy'd, and was bu-ry'd on the ſea-ſhore.

This is the life of *Homer* aſcrib'd to *Herodotus*, tho' it is wonderful it ſhould be ſo, ſince it evidently con-tradicts his own *hiſtory*, by placing *Homer* ſix hundred twenty two years before the expedition of *Xerxes*; whereas *Herodotus* himſelf, who was alive at the time of that expedition, ſays *Homer* was only [a] four hun-dred years before him. However, if we can imagine that there may be any thing of truth in the main part of this treatiſe, we may gather theſe general obſer-vations from it: That he ſhew'd a great thirſt after knowledge, by undertaking ſuch long and numerous travels; That he manifeſted an unexampled vigor of mind, by being able to write with more fire under the diſadvantages of blindneſs, and the utmoſt pover-ty, than any Poet after him in better circumſtances; and that he had an unlimited ſenſe of fame (the at-tendant of noble ſpirits) which prompted him to en-gage in new travels, both under theſe diſadvantages and the additional burthen of old age.

But it will not perhaps be either improper or diffi-cult to make ſome conjectures, which ſeem to lay open the foundation from whence the traditions which frame the low lives of *Homer* have ariſen. We may conſider, That there are no Hiſtorians of his time (or none handed down to us) who have men-tion'd him; and that he has never ſpoken plainly of himſelf, in theſe works which have been aſcri-

a Herod. *l.* 2.

to him without controverſy. However, an eager deſire to know ſomething concerning him has occaſion'd mankind to labour the point under theſe diſadvantages, and turn on all hands to ſee if there were any thing left which might have the leaſt appearance of information. Upon the ſearch, they find no remains but his *name* and *works*, and reſolve to torture theſe upon the rack of invention, in order to give ſome account of the perſon they belong to.

The firſt thing therefore they ſettle is, That what paſs'd for his *name* muſt be his *name* no longer, but an *additional title* us'd inſtead of it. The reaſon why it was given, muſt be ſome accident of his life. They then proceed to conſider every thing that the word may imply by its derivation. One finds that Ὁ μηρὸς ſignifies a *thigh*; whence ariſes the tradition in [t] *Heliodorus*, that he was baniſh'd *Ægypt* for the mark on that part, which ſhew'd a ſpurious birth; and this they imagine ground enough to give him the life of a wanderer. A ſecond find that Ὅμηρος ſignifies an *hoſtage*, and then he muſt be deliver'd as ſuch in a war (according to [u] *Proclus*) between *Smyrna* and *Chios*. A third can derive the name Ὁ μὴ ὁρῶν, *non videns*, from whence he muſt be a *blind man* (as in the piece aſcrib'd to [x] *Herodotus*.) A fourth brings it from Ὁμοῦ ἰέναι, *ſpeaking* in *council*; and then (as it is in *Suidas*) he muſt, by a divine inſpiration, declare to the *Smyrnæans*, that they ſhould war againſt *Colophon*. A fifth finds the word may be brought to ſignify *following others*, or *joining himſelf* to them, and then he muſt be call'd *Homer* for ſaying (as it is quoted from [y] *Ariſtotle* in the life aſcrib'd to *Plutarch*) that he would

[t] Hel. *l.* 3. [u] Proc. *vit.* Hom. [x] Herod. *vit.* Hom. [y] Plut. *vit.* Hom.

Ὁμηρεῖν, or *follow* the *Lydians* from *Smyrna*. Thus has the name been turn'd and winded, enough at leaſt to give a ſuſpicion, that he who got a *new etymology*, got either a *new life* of him, or ſomething which he added to the old one.

However, the *name* itſelf not affording enough to furniſh out a whole life, his *works* muſt be brought in for aſſiſtance, and it is taken for granted, That where he has not ſpoken of himſelf, he lies veil'd beneath the perſons or actions of thoſe whom he deſcribes. Becauſe he calls a Poet by the name of *Phemius* in his *Odyſſey*, they conclude this [z] *Phemius* was his maſter. Becauſe he ſpeaks of *Demodocus* as another Poet who was blind, and frequented palaces; he muſt be ſent about [a] blind, to ſing at the doors of rich men. If *Ulyſſes* be ſet upon by dogs at his ſhepherd's cottage, becauſe this is a low adventure, it is thought to be his own at *Boliſſus*. [b] And if he calls the leather-dreſſer who made *Ajax*'s ſhield, by the name of *Tychius*, he muſt have been ſupported by ſuch an one in his wants. Nay, ſome have been ſo violently carry'd into this way of conjecturing, that the bare [c] *ſimile* of a woman who works hard for her livelihood, is ſaid to have been borrow'd from his mother's condition, and brought as a proof of it. Thus he is ſtill imagin'd to intend himſelf; and the fictions of poetry, converted into real facts, are deliver'd for his life, who has aſſign'd them to others. All thoſe ſtories in his works which ſuit with a mean condition are ſuppos'd to have happen'd to him; tho' the ſame way of inference might as well prove him to have acted in a higher ſphere, from the many paſſages that ſhew his ſkill in government and his knowledge of the great parts of life.

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[z] Herod. *vit.* Hom. [a] *Ibid.* [b] *Ibid.* [c] *Vit.* M. Dacier's *life of* Homer.

There are ſome other ſcatter'd ſtories of *Homer* which fall not under theſe heads, but are however of as trifling a nature; as much unfit for the materials of hiſtory, ſtill more ungrounded, if poſſible, and ariſing merely from chance, or the humours of men: Such is the report we meet with from [d] *Heraclides*, That "*Homer* was fin'd at *Athens* for a madman;" which ſeems invented by the diſciples of *Socrates*, to caſt an odium upon the *Athenians* for their conſenting to the death of their maſter; and carries in it ſomething like a declaiming revenge of the ſchools, as if the world ſhould imagine the one could be eſteem'd *mad*, where the other was put to death for being *wicked*. Such another report is that in [e] *Ælian*, That "*Homer* portion'd his daughter with ſome of his "works for want of money;" which looks but like a jeſt upon a poor wit, which at firſt might have had an Epigrammatiſt for its father, and been afterwards gravely underſtood by ſome painful collector. In ſhort, mankind have labour'd heartily about him to no purpoſe; they have caught up every thing greedily, with that buſy minute curioſity and unſatisfactory inquiſitiveneſs which *Seneca* calls the *Diſeaſe of the Greeks*; they have puzzled the cauſe by their attempts to find it out; and, like travellers deſtitute of a road, yet reſolv'd to make one over unpaſſable deſarts, they ſuperinduce error, inſtead of removing ignorance.

IV. Whenever any authors have attempted to write the life of *Homer*, clear from ſuperſtition, envy, and trifling, they have grown aſham'd of all theſe

IV. *Probable conjectures concerning* Homer.

[d] Diogenes Laertius *ex* Heracl. *in vita* Socratis. [e] Ælian. *Var. Hiſt. lib.* 13. *cap.* 14.

traditions. This, however, has not occasion'd them to desist from the undertaking; but still the difficulty which could not make them desist, has necessitated them, either to deliver the old story with excuses; or else, instead of a life, to compose a treatise partly of *criticism*, and partly of *character*; rather descriptive, than supported by action, and the air of history.

His Time. They begin with acquainting us, that the *Time* in which he liv'd has never been fix'd beyond dispute, and that the opinions of authors are various concerning it: But the controversy, in its several conjectures, includes a space of years between the earliest and latest, from twenty four to about five hundred, after the siege of *Troy*. Whenever the time was, it seems not to have been near that siege, from his own [f] *Invocation* of the *Muses* to recount the catalogue of the ships: "For we, says he, have only heard a rumour, "and know nothing particularly." It is remark'd by [g] *Velleius Paterculus*, That it must have been considerably later, from his own confession, that "mankind "was but half as strong in his age, as in that he writ "of;" which, as it is founded upon a notion of a gradual degeneracy in our nature, discovers the interval to have been long between *Homer* and his subject. But not to trouble our selves with entring into all the dry dispute, we may take notice, that the world is inclin'd to stand by the [h] *Arundelian marble*, as the

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[f] Ἡμεῖς δ' ἅλιον οἷον ἀκούομεν οὐδέ τι ἴδμεν. *Iliad* 2. ν. 487.

[g] Hic longè à temporibus belli quod compositum, Troici, quàm quidam putant, abfuit. Nam fermè ante annos 950 floruit, intra mille natus est: quo nomine non est mirandum quòd sæpe illud usurpat, οἷοι νῦν βροτοί εἰσι. Hoc enim ut hominem ita *sæculorum* notatur differentia. *Vell. Paterc.* lib. 1.

[h] *Vide* Dacier, Du Pin, *&c. concerning the* Arundelian marble.

most

moſt certain computation of thoſe early times; and this by placing him at the time when *Diognetus* rul'd in *Athens*, makes him flouriſh a little before the *Olympiads* were eſtabliſh'd; about three hundred years after the taking of *Troy*, and near a thouſand before the *Chriſtian Æra*. For a farther confirmation of this, we have ſome great names of antiquity who give him a Cotemporary agreeing with the computation: [i] *Cicero* ſays, There was a tradition that *Homer* liv'd about the time of *Lycurgus*. [k] *Strabo* tells us, It was reported that *Lycurgus* went to *Chios* for an interview with him. And even [l] *Plutarch*, when he ſays, *Lycurgus* receiv'd *Homer*'s works from the grandſon of that *Creophilus* with whom he had liv'd, does not put him ſo far backward, but that poſſibly they might have been alive at the ſame time.

The next diſpute regards his *country*, concerning which [m] *Adrian* enquir'd of the Gods, as a queſtion not to be ſettled by men; and *Apion* (according to [n] *Pliny*) rais'd a ſpirit for his information. That which has encreas'd the difficulty, is the number of conteſting places, of which *Suidas* has reckon'd up nineteen in one breath. But his ancient commentator, [o] *Didymus*, found the ſubject ſo fertile, as to employ a great part of his four thouſand volumes upon it. There is a prophecy of the *Sibyls* that he ſhould be born at *Salamis* in *Cyprus*; and then to play an argument of the ſame nature againſt it, there is the *oracle* given to *Adrian* afterwards, that ſays he was born in *Ithaca*. There are *cuſtoms* of *Æolia* and *Ægypt* cited from his works, to make out by turns and with the ſame

His Country.

[i] Cicero *Qu. Tuſcul. l.* 5. [k] Strabo, *l.* 10. [l] Plut. *vitâ* Lycurgi. [m] Ἀγὼν Ὁμήρου καὶ Ἡσιόδου *of* Adrian's *Oracle*. [n] Plin. *l.* 30. *cap.* 2. [o] Seneca *Ep.* 88. *concerning* Didymus.

probability, that he belong'd to each of them. There was a *school* shew'd for his at *Colophon*, and a *tomb* at *Ios*, both of equal strength to prove he had his birth in either. As for the *Athenians*, they challeng'd him as born where they had a colony; or else in behalf of *Greece* in general, and as the *metropolis* of its learning, they made his name free of their city (*qu. Liciniâ & Mutiâ lege*, says [p] *Politian*) after the manner of that law by which all *Italy* became free of *Rome*. All these have their authors to record their titles, but still the weight of the question seems to lie between *Smyrna* and *Chios*, which we must therefore take a little more notice of. That *Homer* was born at *Smyrna* is endeavour'd to be prov'd by an [q] *Epigram*, recorded to have been under the statue of *Pisistratus* at *Athens*; by the reports mention'd in *Cicero*, *Strabo*, and *A. Gellius*; and by the *Greek* lives, which pass under the names of *Herodotus*, *Plutarch*, and *Proclus*; as also the two that are anonymous. The [r] *Smyrnæans* built a temple to him, cast medals of him, and grew so possess'd of his having been theirs, that it is said they burn'd *Zoilus* for affronting them in the person of *Homer*. On the other hand, the *Chians* plead the ancient authorities of [s] *Simonides* and [t] *Theocritus* for his being born among them. They mention a race they had, call'd the *Homeridæ*, whom they reckon'd his posterity; they cast medals of him; they

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[p] Politian. *Præf. in* Homerum.

[q] Epigram *on* Pisistratus *in the anonymous life before* Homer.

[r] Vitruvius Procem. *l.* 7.

[s] Simonides *Frag. de brevitate vitæ, quoting a verse of* Homer.
Ἓν δὲ τὸ κάλλιστον Χῖος ἔειπεν ἀνήρ.

[t] Theocritus *in* Dioscuris, *ad fin.*
———— Χῖος ἀοιδός,
Ὑμνήσας Πριάμοιο πόλιν καὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν,
Ἰλιάδας τε μάχας. ————

shew

ſhew to this day an *Homerium*, or temple of *Homer*, near *Boliſſus*; and cloſe their arguments with a quotation from the *Hymn* to *Apollo* (which is acknowledg'd for *Homer*'s by [u] *Thucydides*) where he calls himſelf, "The blind man that inhabits *Chios*." The reader has here the ſum of the large treatiſe of *Leo Allatius*, written particularly on this ſubject [w], in which, after having ſeparately weigh'd the pretenſions of all, he concludes for *Chios*. For my part, I determine nothing in a point of ſo much uncertainty; neither which of theſe was honour'd with his birth, nor whether any of them was, nor, whether each may not have produc'd his own *Homer*; ſince [x] *Xenophon* ſays, there were many of the name. But one cannot avoid being ſurpriz'd at the prodigious veneration for his character, which could engage mankind with ſuch largeneſs in a point ſo little eſſential; that Kings ſhould ſend to oracles for the enquiry of his birthplace; that cities ſhould be in ſtrife about it, that whole lives of learned men ſhould be employ'd upon it; that ſome ſhould write treatiſes; that others ſhould call up ſpirits about it; that thus, in ſhort, heaven, earth and hell ſhould be ſought to, for the deciſion of a queſtion which terminates in curioſity only.

His Parents.

If we endeavour to find the *parents* of *Homer*, the ſearch is as fruitleſs. [y] *Ephorus* has made *Maon* to be his father, by a neice whom he deflour'd; and this has ſo far obtain'd, as to give him the derivative name of *Maonides*. His mother (if we follow the ſtory of *Maon*) is call'd *Crytheis*: But we are loſt again in uncertainty, if we ſearch farther;

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[u] Thucyd. *lib.* 3. [w] Leo Allatius *de patriâ* Homeri. [x] Xenophon *de Æquivocis*. [y] Plut. *vitâ* Hom. *ex* Ephoro.

for

for *Suidas* has mention'd *Eumetis* or *Polycaſte*; and [a] *Pauſanias*, *Clymene* or *Themiſto*; which happens because the conteſting countries find out mothers of their own for him. Tradition has in this caſe afforded us no more light, than what may ſerve to ſhew its ſhadows in confuſion; they ſtrike the ſight with ſo equal a probability, that we are in doubt which to chuſe, and muſt paſs the queſtion undecided.

His Name.

If we enquire concerning his own *name*, even that is doubted of. He has been called *Meleſigenes* from the river where he was born. *Homer* has been reckon'd an aſcititious name, from ſome accident in his life. The *Certamen Homericum* calls him once *Auletes*, perhaps from his muſical genius; and [a] *Lucian*, *Tigranes* it may be from a confuſion with that *Tigranes* or [b] *Tigretes*, who was brother of Queen *Artemiſia*, and whoſe name has been ſo far mingled with his, as to make him be eſteem'd author of ſome of the leſſer works which are aſcrib'd to *Homer*. It may not be amiſs to cloſe theſe criticiſms with that agreeable deriſion wherewith *Lucian* treats the humour of Grammarians in their ſearch after minute and impoſſible enquiries, when he feigns, that he had talk'd over the point with *Homer*, in the *Iſland of the Bleſſed*. "I aſk'd him, ſays he, of what country he was? a "queſtion hard to be reſolv'd with us; to which he "anſwer'd, He could not certainly tell, becauſe ſome "had inform'd him, that he was of *Chios*, ſome of "*Smyrna*, and others of *Colophon*; but he took him- "ſelf for a *Babylonian*, and ſaid he was call'd *Tigranes* "while he liv'd among his country-men; and *Homer* "while he was a hoſtage among the *Grecians*.

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[a] Pauſanias, *l.* 10.
[b] Suidas *de* Tigrete.
[a] Lucian's *true hiſtory*, *l.* 2.

ΟΜΗΡΟC
ΑΜΑCΤΡΙΑΝΩΝ
ΜΕΛΗC
..ΚΟΥΜΕΝΗ ΧΡΟΝΟΣ ΙΛΙΑΣ ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑ ΟΜΗΡΟΣ
Life of Homer

At his birth he appears not to have
een *blind*, whatever he might be af- *His* Blindneſs.
rwards. The * *Chian* medal of him
which is of great antiquity, according to *Leo Allatius*) ſeats him with a volume open, and reading intently. But there is no need of proofs from antiquity or that which every line of his works will demonrate. With what an exactneſs, agreeable to the naral appearance of things, do his cities ſtand, his ountains riſe, his rivers wind, and his regions lie xtended? How beautifully are the views of all ings drawn in their figures, and adorn'd with their intings? What addreſs in action, what viſible aracters of the paſſions inſpirit his heroes? It is ot to be imagin'd, that a man could have been alays blind, who thus inimitably copies nature, and ves every where the proper proportion, figure, cour, and life: "*Quem ſi quis cæcum genitum putat* ys [c] *Paterculus*) *omnibus ſenſibus orbus eſt*:" He uſt certainly have beheld the creation, conſider'd with a long attention, and enrich'd his fancy by e moſt ſenſible knowledge of thoſe ideas which he akes the reader ſee while he but deſcribes them.

As he grew forward in years, he
s train'd up to learning (if we cre- *His* Education *and* Maſter.
[d] *Diodorus*) under one "*Pronapides*, a man of excellent natural endowments, who taught the *Pelaſgick* letter invented by *Linus*." om him he might learn to preſerve his poetry by mmitting it to writing; which we mention, beuſe it is generally believ'd [e] no poems before his ere ſo preſerv'd; and he himſelf in the third line

* *The medal is exhibited at the beginning of this eſſay.*
[c] Paterculus, *l.* 1. [d] Diod. Sic. *l.* 3.
[e] Joſeph. *cont.* Apion. *l.* 1.

of

of his *Batrachomyomachia* (if that piece be his) ex
preſſly ſpeaks of [f] writing his works in his *tablets*:

His Travels. When he was of riper years, fo his farther accompliſhment and th gratification of his thirſt of knowledge, he ſpent a conſiderable part of his time in tr velling. Upon which account, [g] *Proclus* has take notice that he muſt have been rich: "For lon "travels, ſays he, occaſion high expences, an "eſpecially at thoſe times when men could neith "ſail without imminent danger and inconvenienci "nor had a regulated manner of commerce with on "another." This way of reaſoning appears ver probable; and if it does not prove him to have bee rich, it ſhews him, at leaſt, to have had patrons of generous ſpirit; who obſerving the vaſtneſs of h capacity, believ'd themſelves beneficent to mankin while they ſupported one who ſeem'd born for ſom thing extraordinary.

Ægypt being at that time the ſeat of learning, th greateſt wits and Genius's of *Greece* us'd to travel th ther. Among theſe [h] *Diodorus* reckons *Homer*, an to ſtrengthen his opinion alledges that multitude their notions which he has receiv'd into his poetr and of their cuſtoms, to which he alludes in h fictions: Such as his *Gods*, which are nam'd from th firſt *Ægyptian Kings*; the number of the *Muſes* take from the *nine Minſtrels* which attended *Oſiris*; th *Feaſt* wherein they us'd to ſend their ſtatues of th Deities into *Æthiopia*, and to return after twelve day and the carrying their dead bodies over the lake to

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f ——— ἀοιδὸς
Ἦν νέον ἐν δίκλοισιν ἰμοῖς ἔτι γήραϊ θῆκα. Batrach.

g Procl. *vitâ* Hom.

h Diod. Sic. *l.* 1.

pleaſa

pleasant place call'd *Acherusia* near *Memphis*, from whence arose the stories of *Charon*, *Styx*, and *Elysium*. These are notions which so abound in him, as to make *Herodotus* say, He had introduc'd from thence the *religion* of *Greece*. And if others have believ'd he was an *Ægyptian*, from his knowledge of their rites and traditions, which were reveal'd but to few, and of the arts and customs which were practis'd among them in general; it may prove at least thus much, that he must have travell'd there.

As *Greece* was in all probability his native countrey, and had then began to make an effort in learning, we cannot doubt but he travell'd there also, with a particular observation. He uses the different *dialects* which were spoken in its different parts, as one who had been conversant with them all. But the argument which appears most irrefragable, is to be taken from his *catalogue* of the *ships*: He has there given us an exact *Geography* of *Greece*, where its cities, mountains, and plains, are particularly mention'd, where the courses of its rivers are trac'd out, where the countries are laid in order, their bounds assign'd, and the uses of their soils specify'd. This the ancients, who compar'd it with the original, have allow'd to be so true in all points, that it could never have been owing to a loose and casual information: Even *Strabo*'s account of *Greece* is but a kind of commentary upon *Homer*'s.

We may carry this argument farther, to suppose his having been round *Asia Minor*, from his exact division of the *Regnum Priami vetus* (as *Horace* calls it)

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[1] Ἡσίοδον γὰρ καὶ Ὅμηρον ἡλικίαν τετρακοσίοισι ἔτεσι δοκέω μὲν πρεσβυτέρους γενέσθαι, καὶ οὐ πλέοσι· οὗτοι δέ εἰσι οἱ ποιήσαντες θεογονίην Ἕλλησι, καὶ τοῖσι θεοῖσι τὰς ἐπωνυμίας δόντες, καὶ τιμὰς καὶ τέχνας διελόντες, καὶ εἴδεα αὐτῶν σημήναντες. Herodot. *l.* 2.

into

into its ſeparate *Dynaſties*, and the account he give
of the bordering nations in alliance with it. Perhap
too, in the wandrings of *Ulyſſes* about *Sicily*, whoſ
ports and neighbouring iſlands are mention'd, h
might contrive to ſend his Heroe where he had mad
his own voyage before. Nor will the fables he ha
intermingled be any objection to his having travell'
in thoſe parts, ſince they are not related as the hiſto
ry of the preſent time, but the tradition of the for
mer. His mention of *Thrace*, his deſcription of th
beaſts of *Libya*, and of the climate in the *fortuna
iſlands*, may ſeem alſo to give us a view of him i
the extremes of the earth, where it was not barb
rous or uninhabited. It is hard to ſet limits to th
travels of a man, who has ſet none to that deſire o
knowledge which made him undertake them. Wh
can ſay what people he has not ſeen, who appea
to be vers'd in the cuſtoms of all? He takes th
Globe for the ſcene on which he introduces his ſu
jects; he launches forward intrepidly, like one t
whom no place is new, and appears a citizen of th
world in general.

When he return'd from his travels, he ſeems t
have apply'd himſelf to the finiſhing of his Poem
however he might have either deſign'd, begun, o
purſu'd them before. In theſe he treaſur'd up his va
ous acquiſitions of knowledge, where they have be
preſerv'd through many ages, to be as well the proo
of his own induſtry, as the inſtructions of poſteri
He could then deſcribe his ſacrifices after the *Æoli
manner; or [k] his leagues with a mixture of *Tro
and *Spartan* ceremonies: [l] He could then compare t
confuſion of a multitude to that tumult he had o
ſerv'd in the *Icarian* ſea, daſhing and breaking amo

[k] Iliad. 3. [l] Il. 2. ℣. 145.

es crowd of iſlands: he could repreſent the numbers of an army, by thoſe flocks of [m] ſwans he had ſeen on the banks of the *Cayſter*; or being to deſcribe that heat of battel with which *Achilles* drove the *Trojans* into the river, [n] he could illuſtrate it with an alluſion from *Cyrene* or *Cyprus*, where, when the inhabitants burn'd their fields, the graſs-hoppers fled before the fire to periſh in the Ocean. His fancy being fully repleniſh'd, might ſupply him with every proper occaſional image; and his ſoul after having enlarg'd itſelf, and taken in an extenſive variety of the creation, might be equal to the taſk of an *Iliad* and an *Odyſſey*.

His old age *and* Death.

In his old *age*, he fell blind, and ſettled at *Chios*, as he ſays in the *Hymn* to *Apollo*, (which as is before obſerv'd, is acknowledg'd for his by *Thucydides*, and might occaſion both *Simonides* and *Theocritus* to call him a *Chian*) [o] *Strabo* relates, That *Lycurgus* the great legiſlator of *Sparta*, was reported to have gone to *Chios* to have a conference with *Homer*, after he had ſtudy'd the laws of *Crete* and *Ægypt*, in order to form his conſtitutions. If this be true, how much a nobler repreſentation does it give of him, and indeed more agreeable to what we conceive of this mighty genius, than thoſe ſpurious accounts, which keep him down among the meaneſt of mankind? What an idea could we frame to our ſelves, of a converſation held between two perſons ſo conſiderable; a philoſopher conſcious of the force of poetry, and a poet knowing in the depths of philoſophy; both their ſouls improv'd with learning, both eminently rais'd above little deſigns or the meaner kind of intereſt, and meeting together to conſult the good of mankind?

[m] Iliad. 2. ℣. 461. [n] Il. 21. ℣. 12. [o] Strabo, *l.* 14.

But

But in this I have only indulg'd a thought which I not to be inſiſted upon; the evidence of hiſtory ra ther tends to prove that *Lycurgus* brought his work from *Aſia* after his death: which [p] *Proclus* imagines t have happen'd at a great old age, on account of hi vaſt extent of learning, for which a ſhort life could never ſuffice.

His Character and Manners.

If we would now make a conje cture concerning the genius and tem per of this great man; perhaps his works, which would not furniſh us with facts fo his life, will be more reaſonably made uſe of to giv us a picture of his mind: To this end therefore, we may ſuffer the very name and notion of a book to va niſh for a while, and look upon what is left us as converſation, in order to gain an acquaintance wit *Homer*. Perhaps the general air of his works will be come the general character of his genius; and th particular obſervations give ſome light to the par ticular turns of his temper. His comprehenſive knowledge ſhews that his ſoul was not form'd lik a narrow chanel for a ſingle ſtream, but as an ex panſe which might receive an ocean into its boſom that he had the ſtrongeſt deſire of improvement, an an unbounded curioſity, which made its advantage o every tranſient circumſtance, or obvious acciden His ſolid and ſententious manner may make us ad mire him for a man of judgment: one who, in th darkeſt ages, could enter far into a diſquiſition of huma nature; who, notwithſtanding all the changes whic governments, manners, rites, and even the notion of virtue, have undergone, could ſtill abound with ſ many maxims correſpondent to truth, and notion applicable to ſo many ſciences. The fire, which

[p] Procl. *vitâ* Hom.

obſervable in his Poem, may make us naturally con-
ſture him to have been of a warm temper, and
ely behaviour; and the pleaſurable air which every
here overſpreads it, may give us reaſon to think,
at fire of imagination was temper'd with ſweetneſs
d affability. If we farther obſerve the particulars
treats of, and imagine that he laid a ſtreſs upon
ſentiments he delivers, purſuant to his real opini-
s; we ſhall take him to be of a religious ſpirit, by
inculcating in almoſt every page the worſhip of
Gods. We ſhall imagine him to be a generous
er of his countrey, from his care to extol it every
ere; which is carry'd to ſuch a height, as to
ke [q] *Plutarch* obſerve, That though many of the
rbarians are made priſoners or ſuppliants, yet nei-
r of theſe diſgraceful accidents (which are com-
n to all nations in war) ever happens to one *Greek*
oughout his works. We ſhall take him to be a
mpaſſionate lover of mankind, from his number-
praiſes of hoſpitality and charity; (if indeed we
not to account for 'em, as the common writers
his life imagine, from his owing his ſupport to
ſe virtues.) It might ſeem from his love of ſtories,
his manner of telling them ſometimes, that he
e his own picture when he painted his *Neſtor*, and,
viſe as he was, was no enemy to talking. One
uld think from his praiſes of wine, his copious
lets, and pleaſing deſcriptions of banquets, that
was addicted to a chearful, ſociable life, which
ace takes notice of as a kind of tradition;

Laudibus arguitur vini vinoſus Homerus."
Ep. 19. *l.* 1.

[q] Plutarch. *de Aud. Poetis.*

And that he was not (as may be gueſs'd of *Virg* from his works) averſe to the *female ſex*, will appe from his care to paint them amiably upon all occa ons: His *Andromache* and *Penelope* are in each of h Poems moſt ſhining characters of conjugal affection even his *Helena* herſelf is drawn with all the ſoftnin imaginable; his ſouldiers are exhorted to comb with the hopes of *women*; his commanders are fu niſh'd with *fair ſlaves* in their tents, nor is the ven rable *Neſtor* without a *miſtreſs*.

It is true, that in this way of turning a *book* into *man*, this reaſoning from his works to himſelf, w can at beſt but hit off a few out-lines of a characte wherefore I ſhall carry it no farther, but conclu with one *diſcovery* which we may make from his *lence*; a diſcovery extremely proper to be made this manner, which is, That he was of a very m deſt temper. There is in all other Poets a cuſtom ſpeaking of themſelves, and a vanity of promiſi eternity to their writings: in both which *Homer*, w has the beſt title to ſpeak out, is altogether ſilent. to the laſt of them, the world has made him amp recompence; it has given him that eternity he wo not promiſe himſelf: But whatever endeavours h been offer'd in reſpect of the former, we find ſelves ſtill under an irreparable loſs. That which thers have ſaid of him has amounted to no m than conjecture; that which I have ſaid is no farth to be inſiſted on: I have us'd the liberty which indulg'd me by precedent, to give my own opini among the accounts of others, and the world m be pleas'd to receive them as ſo many willing end vours to gratify its curioſity.

Catalogue of his Works.

The only inconteſtable works wh *Homer* has left behind him are the *I* and *Odyſſey*: The *Batrachomyomac*

Battle of the frogs and mice, has been disputed, but however allow'd for his by many authors: amongst whom [r] *Statius* has reckon'd it like the *Culex* *Virgil*, a trial of his force before his greater performances. It is indeed a beautiful piece of raillery, in ich a great writer might delight to unbend himself; instance of that agreeable trifling, which has been ome time or other indulg'd by the finest genius's, the off-spring of that amusing and chearful hur, which generally accompanies the character of ich imagination, like a vein of *Mercury* running gled with a mine of *Gold*.

The *Hymns* have been doubted also, and attribuby the Scholiasts to *Cynæthus* the *Rhapsodist*; but her [s] *Thucydides*, [t] *Lucian*, nor [u] *Pausanias*, have pled to cite them as genuine. We have the ority of the two former for that to *Apollo*, tho' e observ'd that the word Νόμος is found in it, ch the book *de Poesi Homericâ* (ascrib'd to *Plu-*) tells us, was not in use in *Homer*'s time. We also an authority of the last for a [w] *Hymn* to , of which he has given us a fragment. That *Mars* is objected against for mentioning Τύραννος, that which is the first to *Minerva*, for using Τυχὴ, of them being (according to the author of the ise before mention'd) words of a later inventi- The *Hymn* to *Venus* has many of its lines co- by *Virgil*, in the interview between *Æneas* and Goddess, in the first *Æneid*. But whether these s are *Homer*'s, or not, they are always judg'd near as ancient, if not of the same age with

he *Epigrams* are extracted out of the life, said to

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[r] atius *Præf. ad Sylv.* 1. [s] Thucyd. *l.* 3. [t] Lucian *d.* 2. [u] Pausan, *Bœotic.* [w] Paus. *Messen.*

be

be written by *Herodotus*, and we leave them as fu
to ſtand or fall with it; except the Epitaph on *Mid*
which is very ancient, quoted without its author b
by [x] *Plato* and [y] *Longinus*, and (according to [z] *Laerti*
aſcrib'd by *Simonides* to *Cleobulus* the wiſe man; w
living after *Homer*, anſwers better to the age of *Mi*
the ſon of *Gordias*.

The *Margites*, which is loſt, is ſaid by [a] *Ariſtotle*
have been a Poem of a comick nature, wherein
mer made uſe of *iambick* verſes as proper for raille
It was a jeſt upon the fair ſex, and had its name fr
one *Margites*, a weak man who was the ſubject o
The ſtory is ſomething looſe, as may be ſeen by
account of it ſtill preſerv'd in [b] *Euſtathius*'s comm
on the *Odyſſey*.

The *Cercopes* was a ſatyrical work which is
loſt; we may however imagine it was levell'd ag
the vices of men, if our conjecture be right th
was founded upon the [c] old fable of the *Cercopes*,
nation who were turn'd into *monkies* for their fr
and impoſtures.

The *Deſtruction* of *Œchalia*, was a Poem of wh
(according to *Euſtathius*) *Hercules* was the Hero;
the ſubject, his ravaging that countrey; becauſe
rytus the King had deny'd him his daughter *Iole*.

The *Ilias Minor* was a piece which included
the taking of *Troy*, and the return of the *Greci*
In this was the ſtory of *Sinon*, which *Virgil* has
uſe of. [d] *Ariſtotle* has judg'd it not to belon
Homer.

The *Cypriacks*, if it was upon them that *N*

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[x] Plat. *in* Phæd.
[z] Laërtius *in vitâ* Cleobuli.
ſtath. *in* Odyſſ. 10.
[d] Ariſt. *Poet. cap.* 24.
[y] Longin. §. 36. *Edit.* Tol
[a] Ariſt. *Poet. cap.* 4.
[c] Ovid. *Metam. l.* 14. *de C*

fou

ounded his *Ilias Cypria*, (as [c] Mr. *Dacier* conjectures) ere the *love-adventures* of the *ladies* at the ſiege: heſe are rejected by [f] *Herodotus*, for ſaying that *Pa-is* brought *Helen* to *Troy* in three days; whereas *omer* aſſerts they were long driven from place to lace.

There are other things aſcrib'd to him, ſuch as e *Heptapection Goat*, the *Arachnomachia*, &c. in e ludicrous manner; and the *Thebais*, *Epigoni*, or cond ſiege of *Thebes*, the *Phocais*, *Amazonia*, &c. the ſerious: which, if they were his, are now to reputed a real loſs to the learned world. Time, in me things, may have prevail'd over *Homer* himſelf, d left only the names of theſe works, as memorials t ſuch were in being; but while the *Iliad* and *O-ſſey* remain, he ſeems like a leader, who, tho' he y have fail'd in a ſkirmiſh, has carry'd a victory, which he paſſes in triumph through all future es.

Monuments, Coins, Marbles, remaining of him.

The remains we have at preſent, of ſe monuments antiquity had fram'd him, are but few. It could not hought that they who knew ſo lit- of the *life* of *Homer*, could have a right know-ge of his *perſon*: yet they had ſtatues of him as of r Gods, whoſe forms they had never ſeen. "*Quin-mò quæ non ſunt, finguntur* (ſays [g] *Pliny*) *pariunt-que deſideria non traditi vultûs, ſicut in* Homero *evenit.*" But tho' the ancient portraits of him ſeem ely notional, yet they agree (as I think [h] *Fabretti* obſerv'd) in repreſenting him with a ſhort curl'd

[c] Dac. on Ariſt. *Poet. cap.* 24. [f] Herod. *l.* 2. [g] Pliny, *l.* 2. [h] Raph. Fabret. *Explicatio Veteris Tabellæ Ana-*, Hom. *Iliad.*

beard, and distinct marks of age in his forehead. That which is prefix'd to this book, is taken from an ancient marble bust, in the palace of *Farnese* at *Rome*.

In *Bolissus* near *Chios* there is a ruin, which was shewn for the house of *Homer*, which [i] *Leo Allatius* went on pilgrimage to visit, and (as he tells us) found nothing but a few stones crumbling away with age, over which he and his companions wept for satisfaction.

They erected Temples to *Homer* in *Smyrna*, as appears from [k] *Cicero*; one of these is suppos'd to be yet extant, and the same which they shew for the Temple of *Janus*. It agrees with [l] *Strabo*'s description, a square building of stone, near a river, thought to be the *Meles*, with two doors opposite to each other North and South, and a large Niche within the east wall, where the image stood: But M. *Spon* denies this to be the true *Homerium*.

Of the medals struck for him, there are some both of *Chios* and *Smyrna* still in being, and exhibited at the beginning of this Essay. The most valuable with respect to the largeness of the head, is that of *Amastris*, which is carefully copied from an original belonging to the present Earl of *Pembroke*, and is the same which *Gronovius*, *Cuperus* and *Dacier* have copied of, but very incorrectly performed.

But that which of all the remains has been of late the chief amusement of the learned, is the marble call'd his *Apotheosis*, the work of *Archelaus* of *Priene*, and now in the palace of *Colonna*. We see there a Temple hung with its veil, where *Homer* is plac'd on a seat with a footstool to it, as he has describ'd the

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[i] Leo Allat. *de patriâ* Hom. *cap.* 13. [k] Cicero *pro* Arch.
[l] Strabo, *l.* 14. Τὸ Ὁμήρειον. ϛοὰ τετράγονος ἔχουσα νεῶν μήρου ἐ ξοάνου, &c: *de* Smyrnâ.

feats of his Gods; supported on each side with figures known for the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, the one by a sword, the other by the ornament of a ship, which denotes the voyages of *Ulysses*. On each side of his footstool are *mice*, in allusion to the *Batrachomyomachia*. Behind, is *Time* waiting upon him, and a figure with turrets on its head, which signifies the *World*, crowning him with the Laurel. Before him is an altar, at which all the *Arts* are sacrificing to him as to their Deity. On one side of the altar stands a boy, representing *Mythology*; on the other, a woman, representing *History*. After her is *Poetry* bringing the *sacred fire*; and in a long following train, *Tragedy*, *Comedy*, *Nature*, *Virtue*, *Memory*, *Rhetorick*, and *Wisdom*, in all their proper attitudes.

SECT. II.

HAVING now finish'd what was propos'd concerning the history of *Homer*'s life, I shall proceed to that of his works; and considering him no longer as a *Man*, but as an *Author*, prosecute the thread of his story in this his second life, thro' the different degrees of esteem which those writings have obtain'd in different periods of time.

It has been the fortune of several great Genius's not to be known while they liv'd, either for want of historians, the meanness of fortune, or the love of retirement, to which a poetical temper is peculiarly addicted. Yet after death their works give themselves a life in Fame, without the help of an historian; and, notwithstanding the meanness of their au-

thor, or his love of retreat, they go forth among mankind, the glories of that age which produc'd them, and the delight of thoſe which follow it. This is a fate particularly verify'd in *Homer*, than whom no conſiderable author is leſs known as to himſelf, or more highly valu'd as to his productions.

The firſt publication of his Works by Lycurgus.

The earlieſt account of theſe is ſaid by [a] *Plutarch* to be ſome time after his death, when *Lycurgus* ſail'd to *Aſia*; "There he had the firſt ſight of *Homer*'s works, which were probably "preſerv'd by the grand-children of *Creophilus*; and "having obſerv'd that their pleaſurable air of fiction "did not hinder the Poet's abounding in maxims of "ſtate, and rules of morality, he tranſcrib'd and "carry'd with him that entire collection we have "now among us: For at that time (continues this author) "there was only an obſcure rumour in *Greece* "to the reputation of theſe Poems, and but a few "ſcatter'd fragments handed about, 'till *Lycurgus* "publiſh'd them entire." Thus they were in danger of being loſt as ſoon as they were produced, by the misfortune of the age, a want of taſte in learning, or the manner in which they were left to poſterity when they fell into the hands of *Lycurgus*. He was a man of great learning, a law-giver to a people divided and untractable, and one who had a notion that poetry influenc'd and civiliz'd the minds of men which made him ſmooth the way to his conſtitution by the ſongs of *Thales* the *Cretan*, whom he engaged to write upon obedience and concord. As he propos'd to himſelf, that the conſtitution he would raiſe upon this their union ſhould be of a martial nature theſe poems were of an extraordinary value to him

[a] Plut. *vit.* Lycurgi.

for they came with a full force into his ſcheme; the moral they inſpir'd was unity; the air they breath'd was martial; and their ſtory had this particular engagement for the *Lacedæmonians*, that it ſhew'd *Greece* in war, and *Aſia* ſubdu'd under the conduct of one of their own Monarchs, who commanded all the *Gracian* Princes. Thus the Poet both pleas'd the law-giver, and the people; from whence he had a double influence when the laws were ſettled. For his Poem then became a Panegyrick on their conſtitution, as well as a Regiſter of their glory; and confirm'd them in the love of it by a gallant deſcription of thoſe qualities and actions for which it was adapted. This made [b] *Cleomenes* call him *The Poet of the* Lacedæmonians: And therefore when we remember that *Homer* owed the publication of his works to *Lycurgus*, we ſhould grant too, that *Lycurgus* owed in ſome degree the enforcement of his laws to the works of *Homer*.

Their reception in Greece.

At their firſt appearance in *Greece*, they were not digeſted into a regular body, but remain'd as they were brought over, in ſeveral detach'd pieces, call'd (according to [c] *Ælian*) from the ſubject on which they treated; as the *battle at the ſhips*, *the death of* Dolon, *the valour of* Agamemnon, *the* Patroclea, *the grot of* Calypſo, *ſlaughter of the Wooers*, and the like. Nor were theſe entitled *Books*, but *Rhapſodies*; from hence they who ſung them had the title of *Rhapſodiſts*. It was in this manner they began to be diſperſt, while their poetry, their hiſtory, the glory they aſſerib'd to *Greece* in general, the particular deſcription they gave of it, and the complement they paid to every little ſtate by an honourable mention, ſo influ-

[b] Plutarch. *Apothteg.* [c] Ælian. *l.* 13. *cap.* 14.

enc'd all, that they were transcrib'd and sung with general approbation. But what seems to have most recommended them was, that *Greece* which could not be great in its divided condition, looked upon the fable of them as a likely plan of future grandeur. They seem from thenceforward to have had an eye upon the conquest of *Asia*, as a proper undertaking, which by its importance might occasion union enough to give a diversion from civil wars, and by its prosecution bring in an acquisition of honour and empire. This is the meaning of [d] *Isocrates*, when he tells us, "That *Homer*'s Poetry was in the greater esteem, "because it gave exceeding praise to those who "fought against the *Barbarians*. Our ancestors (continues he) "honour'd it with a place in education "and musical contests, that by often hearing it we "should have a notion of an original enmity between us and those nations; and that admiring the "virtue of those who fought at *Troy*, we should be "induc'd to emulate their glory." And indeed they never quitted this thought, 'till they had successfully carry'd their arms where-ever *Homer* might thus excite them.

Digested into order at Athens.

But while his works were suffer'd to lie in an unconnected manner, the chain of story was not always perceiv'd, so that they lost much of their force and beauty by being read disorderly. Wherefore as *Lacedæmon* had the first honour of their publ

[d] Οἶμαι δὲ καὶ τὴν Ὁμήρου ποίησιν μείζω λαβεῖν δόξαν, ὅτι καλῶς τοὺς πολεμήσαντας τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐνεκωμίασε· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο βουληθῆναι τοὺς Προγόνους ἡμῶν ἔντιμον αὐτοῦ ποιῆσαι τὴν τέχνην, ἐν τε τοῖς μουσικῆς ἀθλοῖς, καὶ τῇ παιδεύσει τῶν νεωτέρων· ἵνα πολλάκις ἀκούοντες τῶν ἐπῶν, ἐκμανθάνωμεν τὴν ἔχθραν τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὑπάρχουσαν, καὶ ζηλοῦντες τὰς ἀρετὰς τῶν στρατευσαμένων ἐπὶ Τροίαν αὐτῶν ἔργων ἐκείνοις ἐπιθυμῶμεν. Isocrat. *Paneg.*

cati

cation by *Lycurgus*, that of their regulation fell to the ſhare of *Athens* in the time of [e] *Solon*, who himſelf made a law for their recital. It was then that *Piſiſtratus*, the Tyrant of *Athens*, who was a man of great learning and eloquence, (as [f] *Cicero* has it) firſt put together the confus'd parts of *Homer*, according to that regularity in which they are now handed down to us. He divided them into the two different Works, entitled the *Iliad* and *Odyſſey*; he digeſted each according to the Author's deſign, to make their plans become evident; and diſtinguiſh'd each again into twenty four books, to which were afterwards prefix'd the twenty four letters. There is a paſſage indeed in [g] *Plato*, which takes this Work from *Piſiſtratus*, by giving it to his ſon *Hipparchus*; with this addition, that he commanded them to be ſung at the feaſt call'd *Panathenæa*. Perhaps it may be, as [h] *Leo Allatius* has imagin'd, becauſe the ſon publiſh'd the copy more correctly: Thus he offers, to reconcile ſo great a teſtimony as *Plato*'s to the cloud of witneſſes which are againſt him in it: But be that as it will, *Athens* ſtill claims its proper honour of reſcuing the father of learning from the injuries of time, of having reſtor'd *Homer* to himſelf, and given the world a view of him in his perfection. So that if his verſes were before admir'd for their *uſe* and *beauty*, as the ſtars were before they were conſider'd in a ſyſtem of ſcience; they are now admir'd much more for their

[e] Diog. Laert. *vit.* Sol.

[f] Quis doctior iiſdem illis temporibus, aut cujus eloquentia ceteris inſtructior quàm *Piſiſtrati?* Qui primus *Homeri* libros, confuſos antea, ſic diſpoſuiſſe dicitur ut nunc habemus. Cic. *Orat. l.* 3. *Vide etiam* Æl. *l.* 13. *cap.* 14. Liban. *Panegyr. in* Jul. *Anonymam* Homeri *vitam. Fuſiùs verò in Commentatoribus* Dion. Thracis. [g] Plato *in* Hipparcho.

[h] Leo Allatius *de patriâ* Hom. *cap.* 5.

graceful harmony, and that ſphere of order in which they appear to move. They became thenceforward more the pleaſure of the wits of *Greece*, more the ſubject of their ſtudies, and the employment of their pens.

About the time that this new edition of *Homer* was publiſh'd in *Athens*, there was one *Cynathus*, a learned *Rhapſodiſt*, who (as the [i] *Scholiaſt* of *Pindar* informs us) ſettled firſt at *Syracuſe* in that employment; and if (as *Leo Allatius* believes) he had been before an aſſiſtant in the edition, he may be ſuppos'd to have firſt carry'd it abroad. But it was not long preſerv'd correct among his followers; they committed miſtakes in their tranſcriptions and repetitions, and had even the preſumption to alter ſome lines, and interpolate others. Thus the works of *Homer* run the danger of being utterly defac'd; which made it become the concern of Kings and Philoſophers, that they ſhould be reſtor'd to their primitive beauty.

The Edition in Macedon *under* Alexander.

In the front of theſe is *Alexander the Great*, for whom they will appear peculiarly calculated, if we conſider that no books more enliven or flatter perſonal valour, which was great in him to what we call romantick: Neither has any book more places applicable to his deſigns on *Aſia*, or (as it happen'd) to his actions there. It was then no ill complement in [k] *Ariſtotle* to purge the *Iliad* upon his account, from thoſe errors and additions which had crept into it. And ſo far was *Alexander* himſelf from eſteeming it a matter of ſmall importance, that he afterwards [l] aſſiſted in a ſtrict revie

[i] Schol. Pind. *in Nem. Od.* 2.

[k] Plut. *in vitâ* Alexandri.

[l] Φέρεται γοῦν τὰς διόρθωσις τῆς Ὁμήρου ποιήσεως ἡ ἐν τοῦ Ν

of it with *Anaxarchus* and *Callisthenes*; whether it was merely because he esteem'd it a treasury of military virtue and knowledge; or that (according to a late ingenious conjecture) he had a farther aim in promoting the propagation of it, when he was ambitious to be esteem'd a son of *Jupiter*; as a book which treating of the sons of the Gods, might make the intercourse between them and mortals become a familiar notion. The review being finish'd, he laid it up in a casket, which was found among the spoils of *Darius*, as what best deserv'd so inestimable a case; and from this circumstance it was nam'd The *Edition of the Casket*.

Editions in Ægypt.

The place where the works of *Homer* were next found in the greatest regard, is *Ægypt*, under the reign of the *Ptolemies*. These Kings being descended from *Greece*, retain'd always a passion for their original country. The men, the books, the qualifications of it, were in esteem in their court; they preserv'd the language in their family; they encourag'd a concourse of learned men; erected the greatest library in the world; and train'd up their Princes under *Gracian* tutors; among whom the most considerable were appointed for revisers of *Homer*. The first of these was [m] *Zenodotus*, library-keeper to the first *Ptolemy*, and qualify'd for this undertaking by being both a Poet, and a Grammarian: But neither his copy nor that which his disciple *Aristophanes* had made, satisfying *Aristarchus*,

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...ηκος λεγομένη τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου μετὰ τοῦ περὶ Καλλισθένην καὶ Ἀνάξαρχον ἐπελθόντος, καὶ σημειωσαμένου ἔπειτα καταθέντος εἰς Νάρθηκα ὃν εὗρεν Περσικῇ γάζῃ πολυτελῶς κατεσκευασμένον. Strabo, *lib.* 13.

[m] Suidas.

(whom *Ptolemy Philometor* had appointed over his ſon *Euergetes)* he ſet himſelf to another correction with all the wit and learning he was maſter of. He reſtor'd ſome verſes to their former readings, rejected others which he mark'd with *obeliſks* as ſpurious, and proceeded with ſuch induſtrious accuracy, that, notwithſtanding there were ſome who wrote againſt his performance, antiquity has generally acquieſc'd in it. Nay, ſo far have they carry'd their opinion in his favour, as to call a man an [n] *Ariſtarchus* when they meant to ſay a candid, judicious Critick; in the ſame manner as they call the contrary a *Zoilus*, from that *Zoilus* who about this time wrote an envious criticiſm againſt *Homer*. And now we mention theſe two together, I fanſy it will be no ſmall pleaſure to the benevolent part of mankind, to ſee how their characters ſtand in contraſt to each other, for examples to future ages, at the head of the two contrary ſorts of criticiſm, which proceed from good nature, or from ill-will. The one was honour'd with the offices and countenance of the court; the other, [o] when he apply'd to the ſame place for an encouragement amongſt the men of learning, had his petition rejected: The one had his fame continu'd to poſterity; the other is only remember'd with infamy: If the one had antagoniſts, they were oblig'd to pay him the deference of a formal anſwer; the other was never anſwer'd but in general, with thoſe opprobrious names of *Thracian ſlave* and *rhetorical dog*: The one is ſuppos'd to have his copy ſtill remaining; while the other's remarks are periſh'd, as things that men were aſham'd to preſerve, the juſt deſert of whatever arife

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[n] Arguet ambiguè dictum; mutanda notabit;
Fiet *Ariſtarchus* ——— Horat. *Ars Poetica.*

[o] Vitruv. *l.* 7 in *Proem.*

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from the miſerable principles of ill will or envy.

In Syria *and other parts of* Aſia.

It was not the ambition of *Ægypt*, only to have a correct edition of *Homer*. We find in the [p] life of the Poet *Aratus*, that he, having finiſh'd a copy of the *Odyſſey*, was ſent for by *Antiochus* King of *Syria*, and entertain'd by him while he finiſh'd one of the *Iliads*. We read too of others which were publiſh'd with the names of countries; ſuch as the [q] *Maſſaliotick* and *Sinopick*: as if the world were agreed to make his works in their ſurvival undergo the ſame fate with himſelf; and that as different cities contended for his birth, ſo they might again contend for the true edition. But though theſe reviews were not peculiar to *Ægypt* the greateſt honour was theirs, in that univerſal approbation which the performance of *Ariſtarchus* receiv'd; and if it be not his edition which we have at preſent, we know not to whom to aſcribe it.

In India *and* Perſia.

But the world was not contented barely to have ſettled an edition of his works. There were innumerable comments in which they were open'd like a treaſury of learning; and tranſlations whereby other languages became enrich'd by an infuſion of his ſpirit of poetry. [r] *Ælian* tells us, that even the *Indians* had them in their tongue, and the *Perſian* Kings ſung them in theirs. [s] *Perſius* mentions a verſion into *Latin* by *Labeo*, and in general the paſſages and imitations which are taken from him, are ſo numerous, that he may be ſaid to have been tranſlated by piecemeal into that, and all other languages: Which affords us this remark, that there is hardly any thing in him, which has not been

[p] *Author vitæ* Arati, *&* Suidas *in* Arato. [q] Euſtathius *initio Iliados.* [r] Ælian, *l.* 12. *cap.* 48.
[s] Perſius, *Sat.* 1.

pitch'd upon by ſome author or other as a particular beauty.

The extent and height of their reputation in the Heathen world.

It is almoſt incredible to what an height the idea of that veneration the ancients paid to *Homer* will ariſe, to one who reads particularly with this view, through all theſe periods. He was no ſooner come from his obſcurity, but *Greece* receiv'd him with delight and profit: There were then but few books to divide their attention, and none which had a better title to engroſs it all. They made ſome daily diſcoveries of his beauties, which were ſtill promoted in their different chanels by the favourite qualities of different nations. *Sparta* and *Macedon* conſider'd him moſt in reſpect of his *warlike ſpirit*; *Athens* and *Ægypt* with regard to his *poetry* and *learning*; and all their endeavours united under the hands of the learned, to make him blaze forth into an univerſal character. His works, which from the beginning paſs'd for excellent *poetry*, grew to be *hiſtory* and *geography*; they roſe to be a *magazine* of *ſciences*; were exalted into a *ſcheme* of *religion*; gave ſanction to whatever rites they mention'd; were quoted in all caſes for the *conduct of life*, and learned by heart as the very book of belief and practice. From him the *Poets* drew their inſpirations, the *Critics* their rules, and the *Philoſophers* a defence of their opinions: Every author was fond to uſe his name; and every profeſſion writ books upon him, 'till they ſwell'd to libraries. The warriors form'd themſelves by his Heroes, and the oracles deliver'd his verſes for anſwers. Nor was mankind ſatisfy'd to have ſeated his character at the top of human wiſdom, but being overborn with an imagination that he tranſcended their ſpecies, they admitted him to ſhare in thoſe honours they gave the Deities. They inſtituted games for him, dedicated ſtatutes, erected temples

as at *Smyrna*, *Chios* and *Alexandria*; and [t] *Ælian* tells us, that when the *Argives* sacrific'd with their guests, they us'd to invoke the presence of *Apollo* and *Homer* together.

The decline of their character in the beginning of Chriſtianity.

Thus he was ſettled on a foot of adoration, and continued highly venerated in the *Roman* empire, when *Chriſtianity* began. Heatheniſm was then to be deſtroy'd, and *Homer* appear'd the father of it; whoſe fictions were at once the belief of the Pagan religion, and the objections of Chriſtianity againſt it. He became therefore very deeply involv'd in the queſtion; and not with that honour which hitherto attended him, but as a criminal who had drawn the world into folly. He was on one hand accus'd for having fram'd * fables upon the works of *Moſes*; as the rebellion of the Giants from the building of *Babel*, and the caſting *Ate* or *Striſe* out of heaven from the fall of *Lucifer*. He was expos'd on the other hand for thoſe which he is ſaid to invent, as when [u] *Arnobius* cries out, "This is the man who wounded your *Venus*, impriſon'd your *Mars*, who freed even your *Jupiter* by *Briareus*, and who finds authorities for all your vices," *&c.* Mankind was [w] derided for whatever he had hitherto made them believe; and [x] *Plato*, who expell'd him his commonwealth, has of all the Philoſophers, found the leſt quarter from the fathers, for paſſing that ſentence. His fineſt beauties began to take a new ap-

[t] Ælian. *l.* 9. *cap.* 15.
* Juſtin Martyr, *Admonit. ad gentes.*
[u] Arnobius *adverſus gentes*, *l.* 7.
[w] *Vid.* Tertull. *Apol. cap.* 14.
[x] Arnobius, *ibid.* Euſebius *prap. Evangel. l.* 14. *cap.* 10.

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pearance of pernicious qualities; and becauſe they might be conſider'd as allurements to fancy, or ſupports to thoſe errors with which they were mingled they were to be depreciated while the conteſt of faith was in being. It was hence, that the reading them was diſcourag'd, that we hear *Ruffinus* accuſing St. *Jerome* for it, and that [y] St. *Auſtin* rejects him as the grand maſter of fable; tho' indeed the *dulciſſimè vanus* which he applies to *Homer*, looks but like a fondling manner of parting with him.

This ſtrong attack againſt our author oblig'd thoſe Philoſophers who could have acquieſc'd as his admirers, to appear as his defenders; who becauſe they ſaw the fables could not be literally ſupported, endeavour'd to find a hidden ſenſe, and to carry on everywhere that vein of allegory which was already broke open with ſucceſs in ſome places. But how miſerably were they forc'd to ſhifts, when they made [z] *Juno*'s dreſſing in the *Ceſtos* for *Jupiter* to ſignify the purging of the *air* as it approach'd the *fire*? Or the ſtory of *Mars* and *Venus*, that inclination they have to incontinency who are born when theſe planets are in conjunction? Wit and learning had here a large field to diſplay themſelves, and to diſagree in: for ſometimes *Jupiter*, and ſometimes *Vulcan*, was made to ſignify the *fire*; or *Mars* and *Venus* were allow'd to give us a lecture of morality at one time, and a problem of *aſtronomy* at another. And theſe ſtrange diſcoveries, which [a] *Porphyry* and the reſt would have to paſs for the genuine *theology* of the *Greeks*, prove but (as [b] *Euſebius* terms it) the perverting of fables into

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[y] *St.* Auguſt. *Confeſſ. l.* 1. *cap.* 24.
[z] Plutarch *on reading the Poets.*
[a] Porphyrius *de Antro Nymph. &c.*
[b] Euſebii *præpar. Evangel. l.* 3. *cap.* 1.

myſtick

nyſtick ſenſe. They did indeed often defend *Homer*, ut then they allegorized away their *Gods* by doing ſo. What the world took for ſubſtantial objects of adora- ion, diſſolv'd before its eyes into a figurative mean- ng, a moral truth, or a piece of learning which might qually correſpond to any religion; and the learned t laſt had left themſelves nothing to worſhip, when hey came to find an object in Chriſtianity.

Reſtoration of Homer's *works to their juſt character.*

The diſpute of faith being over, ncient learning reaſſum'd its dignity, nd *Homer* obtain'd his proper place n the eſteem of mankind. His books re now no longer the ſcheme of a ving religion, but become the regiſter of one of ormer times. They are not now receiv'd for a rule f life, but valued for thoſe juſt obſervations which re diſpers'd through them. They are no longer ronounc'd from oracles, but quoted ſtill by authors or their learning. Thoſe remarks which the Philo- ophers made upon them, have their weight with us; hoſe beauties which the Poets dwell'd upon, their dmiration: And even after the abatement of what as extravagant in his run of praiſe, he remains con- eſſedly a mighty genius not tranſcended by any which ave ſince ariſen; a Prince, as well as a Father, of oetry.

SECT. III.

A view of the learning of Homer's *time.*

T remains in this hiſtorical eſſay, to regulate our preſent opinion of *omer* by a view of his learning, com- ar'd with that of his age. For this

end

end he may first be consider'd as a poet, that ch
racter which was his professedly; and secondly as o
endow'd with other sciences, which must be spok
of, not as in themselves, but as in subserviency to h
main design. Thus he will be seen on his right fo
of perfection in one view, and with the just allo
ances which should be made on the other: While w
pass through the several heads of science, the state
those times in which he writ will shew us both t
impediments he rose under, and the reasons why
veral things in him which have been objected t
either could not, or should not be otherwise th
they are.

In Poetry. As for the state of *Poetry*, it was
a low pitch in the age of *Hom*
There is mention of *Orpheus*, *Lin*
and *Musæus*, venerable names in antiquity, and e
nently celebrated in fable for the wonderful pow
of their songs and musick. The learned *Fabricius*,
his *Bibliotheca Græca*, has reckon'd about seventy w
are said to have written before *Homer*: but their wo
were not preserv'd, and can be only consider'd,
they were really excellent) as the happiness of th
own generation. What sort of Poets *Homer* saw
his own time, may be gather'd from his descri
tion of [a] *Demodocus* and *Phemius*, whom he has intr
duc'd to celebrate his profession. The imperfe
risings of the art lay then among the *extemp*
singers of stories at banquets, who were half singe
half musicians. Nor was the name of *Poet* then
being, or once us'd throughout *Homer*'s works. Fro
this poor state of Poetry, he has taken a handle
usher it into the world with the boldest stroke of pra
which has ever been given it. It is in the eigh

[a] Od. 1st *and* Od. 8th.

Odyss

Odyſſey, where *Ulyſſes* puts *Demodocus* upon a trial of ſkill. *Demodocus* having diverted the gueſts with ſome actions of the *Trojan* war; "[b] All this (ſays *Ulyſſes*) "you have ſung very elegantly, as if you had either "been preſent, or heard it reported; but paſs now "to a ſubject I ſhall give you, ſing the management "of *Ulyſſes* in the wooden horſe, juſt as it happen'd, "and I will acknowledge the Gods have taught you "your ſongs." This the ſinger being inſpir'd from heaven begins immediately, and *Ulyſſes* by weeping at the recital confeſſes the truth of it. We ſee here a narration which could only paſs upon an age extreamly ignorant in the nature of Poetry, where that claim of inſpiration is given to it which it has never ſince laid down, and (which is more) a power of prophetying at pleaſure aſcrib'd to it. Thus much therefore we gather from himſelf, concerning the moſt ancient ſtate of Poetry in *Greece*; that no one was honour'd with the name of Poet, before Him whom it has ſpecially belong'd to ever after. And if we farther appeal to the conſent of authors, we find he has other titles for being call'd the firſt. [c] *Joſephus* obſerves, That the *Greeks* have not conteſted, but he was the moſt ancient, whoſe books they had in writing. [d] *Ariſtotle* ſays, He was the "firſt who brought all the "parts of a poem into one piece," to which he adds, "with true judgment," to give him a praiſe including both the invention and perfection. And *Horace* ſeems to think, that he invented the very *meaſure* which is call'd *Heroick* from the ſubjects on which he employ'd it;

Res geſtæ regumque, ducumque, & fortia bella,
Quo ſcribi poſſint numero *monſtravit Homerus* [e].

[b] Odyſſ. *l.* 8. ℣. 487, *&c.* [c] Joſeph. *contra* Apion. *l.* 1.
[d] Ariſt. *Poet. cap.* 25. [e] Hor. *Epiſt. ad* Piſones. ℣. 73.

What-

Whatever was ſerious or magnificent made a part o his ſubject: War and peace were the comprehenſiv diviſion in which he conſider'd the world; and th plans of his poems were founded on the moſt activ ſcenes of each, the adventures of a ſiege, and the ac cidents of a voyage. For theſe, his ſpirit was equal active and various, lofty in expreſſion, clear in na ration, natural in deſcription, rapid in action, abun dant in figures. If ever he appears leſs than himſel it is from the time he writ in; and if he runs int errors, it is from an exceſs, rather than a defect o genius. Thus he roſe over the poetical world, ſhi ing out like a ſun all at once; which if it ſometim make too *faint* an appearance, 'tis to be aſcrib'd onl to the neceſſity of the ſeaſon that keeps it at a d ſtance; and if he is ſometimes too *violent*, we confe at the ſame time that we owe all things to his heat.

Theology.

As for his *Theology*, we ſee the He then ſyſtem entirely follow'd. Th was all he could then have to wo upon, and where he fails of truth for want of revel tion, he at leaſt ſhews his knowledge in his own re gion by the traditions he delivers. But we are no upon a point to be farther handled, becauſe the gre eſt controverſy concerning the merit of *Homer* d pends upon it. Let us conſider then, that there w an age in *Greece*, when natural reaſon only diſcover there muſt be ſomething ſuperior to us, and traditi had affix'd the notion to a number of Deities. At th time *Homer* roſe with the fineſt turn imaginable f Poetry, who deſigning to inſtruct mankind in th manner for which he was moſt adapted, writ poem wherein he made uſe of the miniſtry of the Gods t give the higheſt air of ſurprize and veneration to h writings. He found the religion of mankind wra up in fables; it was thought then the eaſieſt way t convey morals to the people, who were allur'd to t

tentio

ention by pleaſure, and aw'd with the opinion of a idden myſtery. Nor was it his buſineſs when he un-ertook the province of a Poet (not of a mere Philo-opher) to be the firſt who ſhould diſcard that which rniſhes Poetry with its moſt beautiful appearance: nd eſpecially, ſince the age he liv'd in, by diſcovering s taſte, had not only given him authority, but even ut him under the neceſſity of preſerving it. What-ver therefore he might think of his Gods, he took em as he found them: he brought them into action ccording to the notions which were then entertain'd, nd in ſome ſtories as they were then believ'd; unleſs e imagine that he invented every thing he delivers. et there are ſeveral rays of truth ſtreaming through l this darkneſs, in thoſe ſentiments he entertains oncerning the Gods; and ſeveral allegories lightly eil'd over, from whence the learned drew new nowledges, each according to his power of penetra-on and fancy. But that we may the better compre-end him in all the parts of this general view, let us xtract from him a ſcheme of his religion.

He has a *Jupiter*, a *father of Gods and men*, whom e makes ſupream, and to whom he applies ſeveral tributes, as wiſdom, juſtice, knowledge, power, *c.* which are eſſentially inherent to the idea of a od. [f] He has given him two *veſſels*, out of which e diſtributes natural *good* or *evil* for the life of man; e places the Gods in council round him; he makes *Prayers* paſs to and fro before him; and mankind ore him with ſacrifice. But all this grand appear-nce wherein Poetry paid a deference to reaſon, is aſh'd and mingled with the imperfection of our na-re; not only with the applying our paſſions to the preme being (for men have always been treated

[f] Iliad 24. *v.* 527. [g] Il. 8. *v.* 498.

with

with this complyance to their notions) but that he
not even exempted from our common appetites a
frailties: For he is made to eat, drink, and slee
but this his admirers would imagine to be only a gross
way of representing a general notion of happine
because he says in one place, [b] that the food of t
Gods was not of the same nature with ours. But u
on the whole, while he endeavour'd to speak of
Deity without a right information, he was forc'd t
take him from that image he discover'd in *man*; a
(like one who being dazled with the sun in the he
vens, would view him as he is reflected in a rive
he has taken off the impression not only ruffled wi
the emotion of our passions, but obscur'd with t
earthy mixture of our natures.

The other Gods have all their provinces assign
'em; "Every thing has its peculiar Deity, says [i] *Ma*
"*imus Tyrius*, by which *Homer* would insinuate th
"the Godhead was present to all things." Whe
they are consider'd farther, we find he has turn'd th
virtues and endowments of our minds into *persons*, t
make the springs of action become visible; and be
cause they are given by the Gods, he represents the
as Gods themselves descending from heaven. In th
same strong light he shews our vices, when they occ
sion misfortunes, like extraordinary powers whic
inflict them upon us; and even our natural Punis
ments are represented as punishers themselves. B
when we come to see the manner they are introduc
in, they are found feasting, fighting, wounded b
men, and shedding a sort of blood; in which his m
chines play a little too grosly: the fable which w
admitted to procure the pleasure of surprize, violen
ly oppresses the moral, and it may be lost labour

[b] Il. 5. ℣. 340. [i] Maxim. Tyrius, *Diss.* 16.

fear

arch for it in every minute circumſtance, if indeed was intended to be there. The main deſign was owever philoſophical, the dreſs the poet's, which as us'd for neceſſity, and allow'd to be orna-ental. And ſomething ſtill may be offer'd in his fence, if he has both preſerv'd the grand moral om being obſcur'd, and adorn'd the parts of his orks with ſuch ſentiments of the Gods as belong'd the age he liv'd in; which that he did, appears om his having then had that ſucceſs for which alle-ry was contriv'd. "It is the madneſs of men, ſays [k] *Maximus Tyrius*, to diſ-eſteem what is plain, and admire what is hidden; this the poets diſco-vering, invented the fable for a remedy, when they treated of holy matters; which being more obſcure than converſation, and more clear than the riddle, is a mean between knowledge and ig-norance; believ'd partly for being agreeable, and partly for being wonderful. Thus as Poets in name, and Philoſophers in effect, they drew man-kind gradually to a ſearch after truth, when the name of Philoſopher would have been harſh and diſpleaſing."

When *Homer* proceeds to tell us our duty to theſe erior beings, we find prayer, ſacrifice, luſtration, l all the rites which were eſteem'd religious, con-ntly recommended under fear of their diſpleaſure. e find too a notion of the ſoul's ſubſiſting after this , but for want of revelation he knows not what reckon the happineſs of a future ſtate, to any one o was not deify'd: Which is plain from the ſpeech *Achilles* to *Ulyſſes* in the region of the dead; where tells him, that "he would rather ſerve the pooreſt creature upon earth, than rule over all the de-

[k] Maxim. Tyr. *Diſſ.* 29. [l] Odyſſ. 11. *v.* 488.

"parted.

" parted." It was chiefly for this reaſon that *Pl*
excluded him his common-wealth; he thought *H*
mer ſpoke indecently of the Gods, and dreadfully
a future ſtate; in which ſentence he has made no
lowance for the times he writ in. But if he can
be defended in every thing as a theologiſt, yet
may ſay in reſpect of his poetry, that he has enrich
it from theology with true ſentiments for profit;
dorn'd it with allegories for pleaſure; and by uſi
ſome machines which have no farther ſignifican
or are ſo refin'd as to make it doubted if they ha
any, he has however produc'd that character in po
try which we call the *Marvellous*, and from whi
the *Agreeable* (according to *Ariſtotle)* is always in
parable.

Politicks. If we take the ſtate of *Greece*
his time in a political view, we fi
it a [m] diſunited country, made
of ſmall ſtates; and whatever was manag'd in w
amounted to no more than inteſtine ſkirmiſhes, or
racies abroad, which were eaſily reveng'd on accou
of their diſ-union. Thus one people ſtole *Euro*
and another *Io*; the *Græcians* took *Heſione* from *Tr*
and the *Trojans* took *Helena* from *Greece* in reven
But this laſt having greater friends and alliances th
any upon whom the rapes had hitherto fallen,
ruin of *Troy* was the conſequence; and the force
the *Aſiatick* coaſts was ſo broken, that this accide
put an end to the age of piracies. Then the inteſti
broils of *Greece* (which had been diſcontinued duri
the league) were renew'd upon its diſſolution. W
and ſedition mov'd people from place to place,
ring its want of inhabitants; Exiles from one co
trey were receiv'd for Kings in another; and Lead

[m] *See* Thucydides, *lib.* I.

ok tracts of ground to beſtow them upon their fol-
wers. Commerce was neglected, living at home
ſafe, and nothing of moment tranſacted by any
t againſt their neighbours. *Athens* only, where the
ople were undiſturbed becauſe it was a barren ſoil
hich no body coveted, had begun to ſend colonies
road, being over-ſtock'd with inhabitants.

Now a Poem coming out at ſo ſeaſonable a time,
th a Moral capable of healing theſe diſorders by
omoting *Union*, we may reaſonably think it was
ſign'd for that end to which it is ſo peculiarly a-
pted. If we imagine therefore that *Homer* was a
litician in this affair, we may ſuppoſe him to have
ok'd back into the ages paſt, to ſee if at any time
diſorder had been leſs; and to have pitch'd upon
t ſtory, wherein it found a temporary cure;
t by celebrating it with all poſſible honour he might
il a deſire of the ſame ſort of union into the hearts
his countreymen. This indeed was a work which
ld belong to none but a poet, when Governors
d power only over ſmall territories, and the nume-
us Governments were every way independent. It
s then that all the charms of poetry were call'd
th, to inſinuate the important glory of an alli-
ce; and the *Iliad* deliver'd from the Muſes, with
the pomp of words and artificial influence. U-
n among themſelves was recommended, peace at
me, and glory abroad: And leſt this ſhould be ren-
'd uſeleſs by miſmanagements, he lets us into far-
r leſſons concerning it: How when his Kings
rrel, their ſubjects ſuffer; when they act in con-
ction, victory attends them: When they meet
council, plans are drawn, and proviſions made for
ure action; and when in the field, the arts of war
deſcrib'd with the greateſt exactneſs. Theſe were
tures of general concern to mankind, proper for
Poet to deliver, and Kings to attend to; ſuch as
made

made *Porphyry* write of the profit that Princes mig
receive from *Homer*; and *Stratocles*, *Hermias*, a
Frontinus extract military diſcipline out of him. Th
tho' *Plato* has baniſh'd him from one imaginary co
mon-wealth, he has ſtill been ſerviceable to ma
real kingdoms.

Morality. The morality of *Greece* could n
be perfect while there was a weak
neſs in its government; faults i
Politicks are occaſion'd by faults in Ethicks, a
occaſion them in their turn. The diviſion into
many ſtates was the riſe of frequent quarrels, whe
by men were bred up in a rough untractable diſpo
tion. Bodily ſtrength met with the greateſt honou
becauſe it was daily neceſſary to the ſubſiſtence of l
tle governments; and that headlong courage whi
throws itſelf forward to enterprize and plunder, w
univerſally careſs'd, becauſe it carry'd all things b
fore it. It is no wonder in an age of ſuch educati
and cuſtoms, that, as [n] *Thucydides* ſays, "Robbi
"was honour'd, provided it were done with galla
"try, and that the ancient poets made people qu
"ſtion one another as they ſail'd by, *if they w*
"*thieves?* as a thing for which no one ought eith
"to be ſcorn'd or upbraided." Theſe were the ſc
of actions which the ſingers then recorded, and
was out of ſuch an age that *Homer* was to take h
ſubjects. For this reaſon (not a want of morality
him) we ſee a boaſting temper and unmanag'd roug
neſs in the ſpirit of his Heroes, which ran out
pride, anger, or cruelty. It is not in him as in o
modern Romances, where men are drawn in perf
ction, and we but read with a tender weakneſs wh
we can neither apply nor emulate. *Homer* writ f

[n] Thucyd. *lib.* 1.

men, and therefore he writ of them; if the world had been better, he would have ſhewn it ſo; as the matter now ſtands, we ſee his people with the turn of his age, inſatiably thirſting after glory and plunder; for which however he has found them a lawful cauſe, and taken care to retard their ſucceſs by thoſe very faults.

In the proſecution of the ſtory, every part of it has its leſſons of morality: There is brotherly love in *Agamemnon* and *Menelaus*, friendſhip in *Achilles* and *Patroclus*, and the love of his countrey in *Hector*. But ſince we have ſpoken of the *Iliad* as more particular for its politicks, we may conſider the *Odyſſey* as its moral is more directly fram'd for ethicks. It carries the Hero through a world of trials both of the dangerous and pleaſurable nature. It ſhews him firſt under moſt ſurprizing weights of adverſity, among ſhipwrecks and ſavages; all theſe he is made to paſs through, in the methods by which it becomes a man to conquer; a patience in ſuffering, and a preſence of mind in every accident. It ſhews him again in another view, tempted them with the baits of idle or unlawful pleaſures; and then points out the methods of being ſafe from them. But if in general we conſider the care our author has taken to fix his leſſons of morality by the proverbs and precepts he delivers, we ſhall not wonder if *Greece*, which afterwards gave the appellation of *wiſe* to men who ſettled *ſingle ſentences* of truth, ſhould give him the title of the *Father of Virtue*, for introducing ſuch a number. To be brief, if we take the opinion of [o] *Horace*, he has propos'd him to us as a maſter of morality; he lays down the com-

[o] Qui quid ſit pulchrum, quid turpe, quid utile, quid non, Plenius & melius Chryſippo & Crantore dicit.
Hor. *Ep.* 2. *lib.* 1.

mon philoſophical diviſion of *good*, into *pleaſant*, *profitable*, and *honeſt*; and then aſſerts that *Homer* has more fully and clearly inſtructed us in each of them, than the moſt rigid philoſophers.

Some indeed have thought, notwithſtanding all this, that *Homer* had only a deſign to pleaſe in his invention; and that others have ſince extracted morals out of his ſtories (as indeed all ſtories are capable of being us'd ſo.) But this is an opinion concerning Poetry, which the world has rather degenerated into, than begun with. The traditions of *Orpheus*'s civilizing mankind by hymns on the Gods, with others of the like nature, may ſhew there was a better uſe of the art both known and practis'd. There is alſo a remarkable paſſage of this kind in the third book of the *Odyſſey*, that *Agamemnon* left one of the [p] Poets of thoſe times in his Court when he ſail'd for *Troy*; and that his Queen was preſerv'd virtuous by his ſongs 'till *Ægyſthus* was forc'd to expel him in order to debauch her. Here he has hinted what a true poetick ſpirit can do, when apply'd to the promotion of virtue; and from this one may judge he could not but deſign *that* himſelf, which he recommends as the duty and merit of his profeſſion. Others ſince his time may have ſeduc'd the art to worſe intentions; but they who are offended at the liberties of ſome poets ſhould not condemn all in the groſs for trifling or corruption; eſpecially when the evidence runs ſo ſtrongly for any one, to the contrary.

We may in general go on to obſerve, that the time when *Homer* was born did not abound in learning. For where-ever politicks and morality are weak, learning wants its peaceable air to thrive

[p] Odyſſ. 3. v. 267.

in. He is himſelf the man from whom we have the firſt accounts of antiquity, either in its actions or learning; from whom we hear what *Ægypt* or *Greece* could inform him in, and whatever himſelf could diſcover by the ſtrength of nature or induſtry. But however, that we may not miſtake the Elogies of thoſe ancients who call him the *Father of Arts and Sciences*, and be ſurpriz'd to find ſo little of them (as they are now in perfection) in his works; we ſhould know that this character is not to be underſtood at large, as if he had included the full and regular ſyſtems of every thing: He is to be conſider'd profeſſedly only in quality of a poet; this was his buſineſs, to which as whatever he knew was to be ſubſervient, ſo he has not fail'd to introduce thoſe ſtrokes of knowledge from the whole circle of arts and ſciences, which the ſubject demanded, either for neceſſity or ornament. This will appear on a fair view of him in each of theſe lights.

Hiſtory.

Before his time there was no hiſtorians in *Greece:* He treated hiſtorically of paſt tranſactions, according as he could be inform'd by tradition, ſong, or whatever method there was of preſerving their memory. For this we have the conſent of antiquity; they have generally more appeal'd to his authority, and more inſiſted on it, than on the teſtimony of any other writer, when they treat of the rites, cuſtoms, and manners of the firſt times. They have generally believ'd that the acts of *Tydeus* at *Thebes*, the ſecond ſiege of that city, the ſettlement of *Rhodes*, the battel between the *Curetes* and the *Ætolians*, the ſucceſſion of the Kings of *Mycena* by the ſcepter of *Agamemnon*, the acts of the *Greeks* at *Troy*, and many other ſuch accounts, are ſome of them wholly preſerv'd by him, and the reſt as faithfully related as by any hiſtorian. Nor perhaps was all of his invention

which ſeems to be feign'd, but rather frequently the obſcure traces and remains of real perſons and actions; which, as [q] *Strabo* obſerves, when hiſtory was tranſmitted by oral tradition, might be mix'd with fable before it came into the hands of the poet. "This "happen'd (ſays he) to *Herodotus*, the firſt profeſſed "hiſtorian, who is as fabulous as *Homer* when he de- "fers to the common reports of countries; and it is "not to be imputed to either as a fault, but as a "neceſſity of the times." Nay, the very paſſages which cauſe us to tax them at this diſtance with being fabulous, might be occaſion'd by their diligence, and a fear of erring, if they too haſtily rejected thoſe reports which had paſs'd current in the nations they deſcrib'd.

Geography.

Before his time there was no ſuch thing as *Geography* in *Greece*. For this we have the ſuffrage of [r] *Strabo*, the beſt of Geographers, who approves the opinion of *Hipparchus* and other ancients, that *Homer* was the very author of it; and upon this account begins his treatiſe of the ſcience itſelf, with an *encomium* on him. As to the general part of it, we find he had a knowledge of the Earth's being ſurrounded with the Ocean, becauſe he makes the Sun and Stars both to riſe and ſet in it; and that he knew the uſe of the Stars is plain from his making [s] *Ulyſſes* ſail by the obſervation of them. But the inſtances oftneſt alledg'd upon this point is the [t] ſhield of *Achilles*; where he places the earth encompaſs'd with the Sea, and gives the Stars the names they are yet known by, as the *Hyades*, *Pleiades*, the *Bear*, and *Orion*. By the three firſt of theſe he repreſents the conſtellations of the

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[q] Strabo, *l.* 1. [r] Strabo, *ibid. initio.* [s] Odyſſ. *l.* 5. *ver.* 272. [t] Iliad 18. *ver.* 482, *&c.*

northern

northern region; and in the laſt he gives a ſingle repreſentative of the ſouthern, to which (as it were for a counter-balance) he adds a title of greatneſs, Θεὸν Ὠκεανόν. Then he tells us that the *Bear*, or Stars of the Arctick Circle, never diſappear; as an obſervation which agrees with no other. And if to this we add (what *Eratoſthenes* thought he meant) that the five plates which were faſtened on the ſhield, divided it by the lines where they met, into the five Zones, it will appear an orignal deſign of globes and ſpheres. In the particular parts of *Geography* his knowledge is entirely inconteſtable. *Strabo* refers to him upon all occaſions, allowing that he knew the extremes of the Earth, ſome of which he names, and others he deſcribes by ſigns, as the *Fortunate Iſlands*. The ſame [u] author takes notice of his accounts concerning the ſeveral ſoils, plants, animals, and cuſtoms; as *Ægypt*'s being fertile of medicinal herbs; *Libya*'s fruitfulneſs, where the Ewes have horns, and yean thrice a year, *&c.* which are knowledges that make *Geography* more various and profitable. But what all have agreed to celebrate is his deſcription of *Greece*, which had laws made for its preſervation, and conteſts between governments decided by its authority: Which [w] *Strabo* acknowledges to have no epithet, or ornamental expreſſion for any place, that is not drawn from its nature, quality, or circumſtances; and profeſſes (after ſo long an interval) to deviate from it only where the country had undergone alterations, that caſt the deſcription into obſcurity.

In his time *Rhetorick* was not known; that art took its riſe out of poetry, which was not till then eſtabliſh'd. *Rhetorick.*

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[u] Strabo. *l.* 1. [w] Strab. *l.* 8.

" The oratorial elocution (ſays [x] *Strabo*) is but an " imitation of the poetical; this appear'd firſt and " was approv'd: They who imitated it, took off the " meaſures, but ſtill preſerv'd all the other parts of " poetry in their writings: ſuch were *Cadmus* the " *Mileſian*, *Pherecydes*, and *Hecataus*. Then their " followers took ſomething more from what was " left, and at laſt elocution deſcended into the proſe " which is now among us." But if *Rhetorick* is owing to poetry, the obligation is ſtill more due to *Homer*. He (as [y] *Quintilian* tells us) gave both the pattern and riſe to all the parts of it. " *Hic om-* " *nibus eloquentiæ partibus exemplum & ortum dedit:* " *Hunc nemo in magnis rebus ſublimitate, in parvis pro-* " *prietate, ſuperavit. Idem lætus & preſſus, jucundus* " *& gravis, tum copiâ tum brevitate admirabilis, nec* " *poeticâ modò ſed oratoriâ virtute eminentiſſimus.*" From him therefore they who ſettled the art found it proper to deduce the rules, which was eaſily done, when they had divided their obſervations into the kinds and the ornaments of elocution. For the kinds, the " anciens (ſays [z] *A. Gell.*) ſettled them accord- " ing to the three which they obſerve in his princi- " pal ſpeakers; his *Ulyſſes*, who is magnificent and " flowing; his *Menelaus*, who is ſhort and cloſe; " and his *Neſtor*, who is moderate and diſpaſſion'd, " and has a kind of middle eloquence participating " of both the former." And for the ornaments, [a] *Ariſtotle*, the great maſter of the Rhetoricians, ſhews what deference is paid to *Homer*, when he orders the orator to lay down his heads, and expreſs both the manners and affections of his work, with an imitation of that diction, and thoſe figures, which the *di-*

[x] Strabo, *l.* 1. [y] Quintil. *l.* 10. *cap.* 1. [z] Aulus Gell. *l.* 7. *cap.* 14. [a] Ariſt. *Topic.*

vina

cine Homer excell'd in. This is the conſtant language of thoſe who ſucceeded him, and the opinion ſo far prevail'd as to make [b] *Quintilian* obſerve, that they who have written concerning the art of ſpeaking, take from *Homer* moſt of the inſtances of their ſimilitudes, amplifications, examples, digreſſions, and arguments.

Natural Philoſophy.

As to *natural philoſophy*, the age was not arriv'd in which it flouriſh'd; however ſome of its notions may be trac'd in him. As when he ſays that the fountains and rivers come from the ocean, he holds a *circulation of fluids* in the earth. But as this is a branch of learning which does not lie much in the way of a Poet who ſpeaks of Heroes and wars; the deſire to prove his knowledge this way, has only run [c] *Politian* and others into trifling inferences; as when they would have it that he underſtood the ſecrets of Philoſophy, becauſe he mentions ſun, rain, wind and thunder. The moſt probable way of making out his knowledge in this kind, is by ſuppoſing he couch'd it in allegories; and that he ſometimes us'd the *names of the Gods* as his *Terms* for the *Elements*, as the *Chymiſts* now uſe them for *Metals*. But in applying this to him we muſt read very carefully; not ſearching for allegory too induſtriouſly, where the paſſage may inſtruct by example; and endeavouring rather to find the fable an ornament to what is eaſily known, than to make it a cover to curious and unknown problems.

Phyſick.

As for *Medicine*, ſomething of it muſt have been underſtood in that age; though it was ſo far from perfection, that (according to [d] *Celſus*) what concern'd

[b] Quintil. *l.* 10.
[c] Politian. *Prafatio in Hom.*
[d] Celſus, *lib.* 1.

Diet was invented long after by *Hippocrates*. The accidents of life make the ſearch after remedies too indiſpenſable a duty to be neglected at any time. Accordingly he [e] tells us, that the *Ægyptians* who had many medicinal plants in their countrey, were all Phyſicians: and perhaps he might have learnt his own ſkill from his acquaintance with that nation. The ſtate of war which *Greece* had liv'd in, requir'd a knowledge in the healing of wounds: and this might make him breed his princes, *Achilles*, *Patroclus*, *Podalirius* and *Machaon*, to the ſcience. What *Homer* thus attributes to others, he knew himſelf, and he has given us reaſon to believe, not ſlightly. For if we conſider his inſight into the ſtructure of the human body, it is ſo nice, that he has been judg'd by ſome to have wounded his Heroes with too much ſcience: or if we obſerve his cure of wounds, which are the accidents proper to an Epic poem, we find him directing the chirurgical operation, ſometimes infuſing [f] lenitives, and at other times bitter powders, when the effuſion of blood requir'd aſtringent qualities.

Statuary.

For *Statuary*, it appears by the accounts of *Ægypt* and the *Palladium* that there was enough of it very early in the world for thoſe images which were requir'd in the worſhip of their Gods; but there are none mention'd as valuable in *Greece* ſo early, nor was the art eſtabliſh'd on its rules before *Homer*. He found it agreeable to the worſhip in uſe and neceſſary for his machinery, that his Gods ſhould be cloath'd in bodies: Wherefore he took care to give them ſuch as carry'd the utmoſt perfection of the human form; and diſtinguiſh'd them from each other even in this ſuperior beauty, with ſuch marks as were

[e] Odyſſ. *l.* 4. ℣. 231. [f] Il. 4. ℣. 218. *and* Il. 11. *in fin.* agree

greeable to each of the Deities. "This, says [g] *Strabo*, awaken'd the conceptions of the most eminent statuaries, while they strove to keep up the grandeur of that idea, which *Homer* had impress'd upon their imagination; as we read of *Phidias* concerning the statue of *Jupiter*." And because they copy'd their ods from him in their best performances, his deriptions became the *characters* which were afterrds pursu'd in all works of a good taste. Hence me the common saying of the ancients, "That either *Homer* was the only man who had seen the forms of the Gods, or the only one who had shewn them to men;" a passage which [h] Madam *Dacier* rests to prove the truth of his theology, different om *Strabo*'s acceptation of it.

There are, besides what we have spoken of, other iences pretended to be found in him. Thus *Mabius* discovers that the *chain* with which [i] *Jupiter* ys he could lift the world, is a *metaphysical notion*, at means a connexion of all things from the sueme being to the meanest part of the creation. thers, to prove him skilful in *judicial Astrology*, ing a quotation concerning the births of [k] *Hector* and lydamas on the same night; who were nevertheless different qualifications, one excelling in war, and other in eloquence. Others again will have him be vers'd in *Magick*, from his stories concerning rce. These and many of the like nature are interetations strain'd or trifling, such as *Homer* does not nt for a proof of his learning, and by which we ntribute nothing to raise his character, while we rifice our judgment to him in the eyes of others.

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[g] Strabo, *l.* 8.
[h] Dacier, *Preface to* Homer.
[i] Il. 8. ℣. 19. *Vid.* Macrob. *de somn. Scip. l.* 1. *c.* 14.
[k] Il. 18. ℣. 252.

It is ſufficient to have gone thus far, in ſhewin
was the father of learning, a ſoul capable of ran
over the whole creation with an intellectual vi
ſhining alone in an age of obſcurity, and ſhining
yond thoſe who have had the advantage of more le
ed ages; leaving behind him a work not only ado
with all the knowledge of his own time, but in wh
he has before-hand broken up the fountains of ſe
ral ſciences which were brought nearer to perfec
by poſterity: A work which ſhall always ſtand at
top of the ſublime character, to be gaz'd at by rea
with an admiration of its perfection, and by wri
with a deſpair that it ſhould ever be emulated w
ſucceſs.

T

MACEDONIÆ PARS
THESSALIA
PERRHÆBII
Mons Olympus
Methone
Penei Ostia
Rebeis Lu
Dodone
Gyrtone
Olooſſon
Eleone
TEMPE
Pelion M.
MAGNESIA
Sinus Pegaſeus
Ormenium
Pherae
Trica
Pindus M.
Argiſſa
Oechalia
Thaumacia
Othrys M.
Melibea
Rona
ARGOS PELASGICUM
Phyrrhaſus
Phyſace
Alos
Alope
Pteleon
Trechin
Antron
Thermopylae
Sinus Mehacus
Scarphe
Cynus
Caeneum Prom.
EPIRUS
LOCRIS
Calliarus
Harphe
Hypocaleis
Opus
Aſpledon
Anthegon
Petcon
Phaeacia Inſ.
ACARNANIA
ÆTOLIA
Olenos
Lilaea
Pylenae
Copa
Arne
Schaenus
Onchestus
Medeon
Thebae
Glissa
Anlis
Daulis
Helicon M.
Parnassus M.
PHOCIS
Calydon
Pytho
Thespia
Scolos
Platea
Eutresis
Cythaeron M.
Megara
Nyſa
BOEOTIA
Pleuron
Chalcis
Antieyra
Dulichium
Echinales
Sinus Corinthiacus
Cephalenia vel secundum Hom. Samos
Ithaca vulgo
Egium
Helice
Hyperesia
Gongeſſa
Sicyon
Corinth
Salamis
ACHAIA
Petra Olenia
Pellene
Stymphelus
Phencu
Buparaſium
Hyrmine
Menalus M.
Arethyria
Cleone
Nemea
ARGIA
Mycenae
Tyrinthe
Argos
Maſeta
Sinus Saronicus
Myrſinus
Elis
Cyllene M.
Mantinea
Orchomenus
Lerna
Alſium
Ephyre
Pisa
Parrhaſia
Tegea
Sinus Hermionicus
Scyllaeum
Zacynthus Inſ.
Sinus Cypariſſeus
Helos
Sinus Argolicus
MESSENIA
Amphigenia
Sparta
LACONIA
Amyela
Pteleon
Pylos
Dorion
Tiygetus M.
Helos
Augiae
Gythium
Sinus Meſſeniacus
Sinus Laconicus
Malea Pr
Tenarium Prom.
47
48
49
50

GRÆCIA HOMERICA
PHRYGIA cum Oris Maritimis
Scyros
Chalcis
Eretria
Ocha M.
Sunium Prom
Pars Thraciæ
Cicones
Lemnos
Tenedos
Ægeum
Lesbos
Pars Magnesiæ
Scyros
Chios
Pelasgia
Eubœa Ins.
Attica Pars
Cyclades
Cos I.
Sporades
Homeri Calydnæ
Malea Prom
Cythæra Ins.
Creta Ins.
Ida M.
Carpathus
Casus
Cilicia
Idæ Montes
Lelegia
Mysia
Meonia
Caria
Lycia
Pars
Rhodus Ins.

FH
MVSEVM
BRITANNICVM

A. Coypel Inv. M. Vdr Gucht Sculp.

MHNIC AXIΛHOC

THE FIRST BOOK OF THE ILIAD.

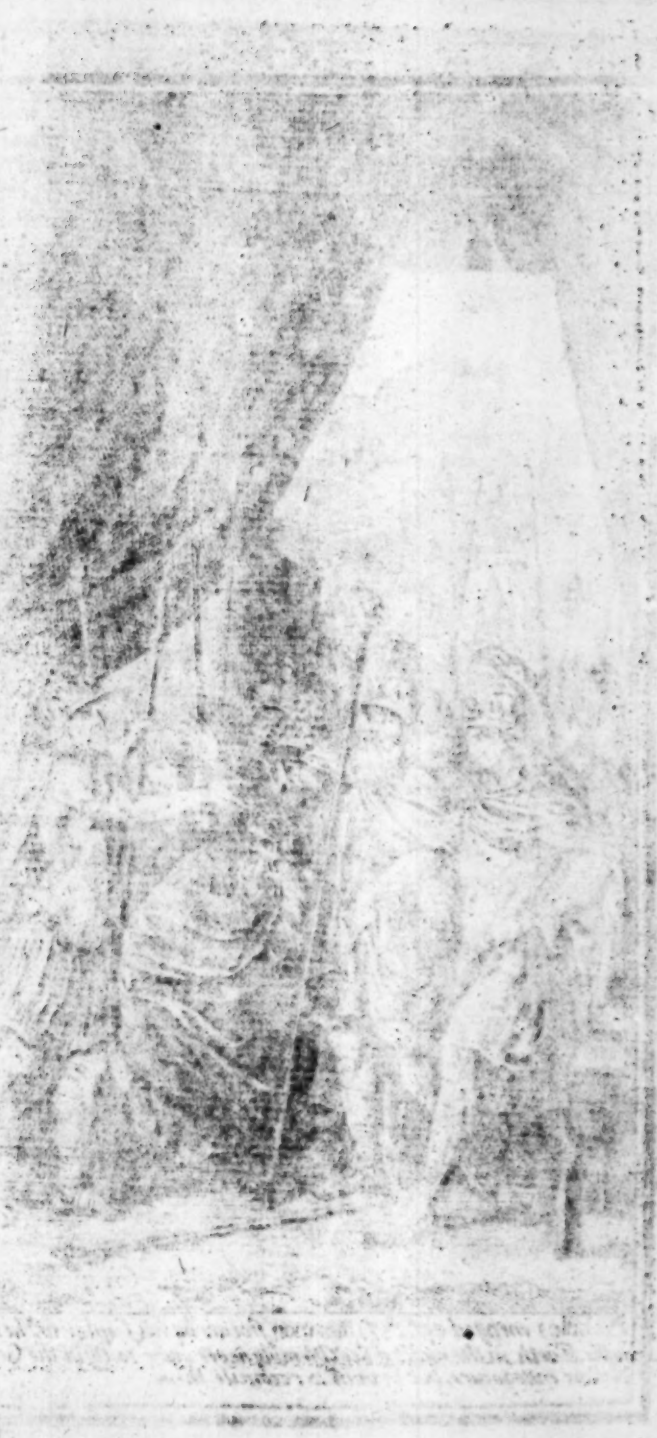
The ARGUMENT.

The Contention of *Achilles* and *Agamemnon*.

IN *the war of* Troy, *the* Greeks *having ſack'd ſo of the neighbouring towns, and taken from thence t beautiful captives,* Chryſeïs *and* Briſeïs, *allotted the fi to* Agamemnon, *and the laſt to* Achilles. Chryſes, *father of* Chryſeïs *and prieſt of* Apollo, *comes to t* Grecian *camp to ranſome her; with which the action the poem opens, in the tenth year of the ſiege. The pri being refus'd and inſolently diſmiſs'd by* Agamemnon *intreats for vengeance from his God, who inflicts a peſti lence on the* Greeks. Achilles *calls a council, and en courages* Chalcas *to declare the cauſe of it, who attribute it to the refuſal of* Chryſeïs. *The King being obliged t ſend back his captive, enters into a furious conteſt wit* Achilles, *which* Neſtor *pacifies; however as he had th abſolute command of the army, he ſeizes on* Briſeïs *in re venge.* Achilles *in diſcontent withdraws himſelf and hi forces from the reſt of the* Greeks; *and complaining t* Thetis, *ſhe ſupplicates* Jupiter *to render them ſenſible o the wrong done to her ſon, by giving victory to the* Tro jans. Jupiter *granting her ſuit incenſes* Juno, *betwee whom the debate runs high, 'till they are reconciled by the addreſs of* Vulcan.

The time *of two and twenty days is taken up in this book; nine during the plague, one in the council and quar rel of the Princes, and twelve for* Jupiter's *ſtay with the* Æthiopians, *at whoſe return* Thetis *prefers her petition. The ſcene lies in the* Grecian *camp, then changes to* Chryſa, *and laſtly to* Olympus.

THE



Achilles enraged ag.st Agamemnon swears by his Scepter &c. he throws it to the Earth in the midst of the Assembly never more to Assist the Greeks: Nestor endeavours, but in vain to reconcile them.

B. 1.

THE FIRST BOOK OF THE ILIAD.

THE Wrath of *Peleus'* Son, the direful ſpring
Of all the *Grecian* woes, O Goddeſs, ſing;
That Wrath which hurl'd to *Pluto's* gloomy (reign
The ſouls of mighty chiefs untimely ſlain:

Whoſe

NOTES.

IT is ſomething ſtrange that of all the commentators upon *Homer*, there is hardly one whoſe principal deſign is to illuſtrate the poetical beauties of the author. They are voluminous in explaining thoſe ſciences which he made but ſubſervient to his Poetry, and ſparing only upon that art which conſtitutes his character. This has been occaſion'd by the oſtentation of men who had more reading than taſte, and were

Whoſe limbs unbury'd on the naked ſhore,
Devouring dogs and hungry vultures tore:

Since

were fonder of ſhewing their variety of learning in all kinds, than their ſingle underſtanding in poetry. Hence it comes to paſs that their remarks are rather philoſophical, hiſtorical, geographical, allegorical, or in ſhort rather any thing than critical and poetical. Even the Grammarians, tho' their whole buſineſs and uſe be only to render the words of an author intelligible, are ſtrangely touch'd with the pride of doing ſomething more than they ought. The grand ambition of one ſort of ſcholars is to encreaſe the number of *various lections*; which they have done to ſuch a degree of obſcure diligence, that (as Sir *H. Savil* obſerv'd) we now begin to value the firſt editions of books as moſt correct, becauſe they have been leaſt corrected. The prevailing paſſion of others is to diſcover *new meanings* in an author, whom they will cauſe to appear myſterious, purely for the vanity of being thought to unravel him. Theſe account it a diſgrace to be of the opinion of thoſe that preceded them; and it is generally the fate of ſuch people who will never ſay what was ſaid before, to ſay what will never be ſaid after them. If they can but find a word, that has once been ſtrain'd by ſome dark writer, to ſignify any thing different from its uſual acceptation; it is frequent with them to apply it conſtantly to that uncommon meaning, whenever they meet it in a clear writer: For reading is ſo much dearer to them than ſenſe, that they will diſcard it at any time to make way for a criticiſm. In other places where they cannot conteſt the truth of the common interpretation, they get themſelves room for diſſertation by imaginary *Amphibologies*, which they will have to be deſign'd by the author. This diſpoſition of finding out different ſignifications in one thing, may be the effect of either too much, or too little wit: For men of a right underſtanding generally ſee at once all that an author can reaſonably mean, but others are apt to fanſy two meanings for want of knowing one. Not to add, that there is a vaſt deal of difference between the learning of a Critick, and the puzzling of a Grammarian.

It is no eaſy task to make ſomething out of a hundred pedants that is not pedantical; yet this he muſt do, who would give a tolerable abſtract of the former expoſitors of

Homer.

Since great *Achilles* and *Atrides* ſtrove,
Such was the ſov'reign doom, and ſuch the will of *Jove!*
Declare,

Homer. The commentaries of *Euſtathius* are indeed an immenſe treaſury of the *Greek* learning; but as he ſeems to have amaſſed the ſubſtance of whatever others had written upon the author, ſo he is not free from ſome of the foregoing cenſures. There are thoſe who have ſaid, that a judicious abſtract of him alone, might furniſh out ſufficient illuſtrations upon *Homer*. It was reſolv'd to take the trouble of reading through that voluminous work, and the reader may be aſſur'd, thoſe remarks that any way concern the Poetry or art of the Poet, are much fewer than is imagin'd. The greater part of theſe is already plunder'd by ſucceeding commentators, who have very little but what they owe to him: and I am oblig'd to ſay even of Madam *Dacier*, that ſhe is either more beholden to him than ſhe has confeſſed, or has read him leſs than ſhe is willing to own. She has made a farther attempt than her predeceſſors to diſcover the beauties of the Poet; tho' we have often only her general praiſes; and exclamations inſtead of reaſons. But her remarks all together are the moſt judicious collection extant of the ſcatter'd obſervations of the ancients and moderns, as her preface is excellent, and her tranſlation equally careful and elegant.

The chief deſign of the following notes is to comment upon *Homer* as a Poet; whatever in them is extracted from others is conſtantly own'd; the remarks of the ancients are generally ſet at length, and the places cited: all thoſe of *Euſtathius* are collected which fall under this ſcheme: many which were not acknowledg'd by other commentators, are reſtor'd to the true owner; and the ſame juſtice is ſhewn to thoſe who refus'd it to others.

THE plan of this poem is form'd upon anger, and its ill effects, the plan of *Virgil*'s upon pious reſignation and its rewards: and thus every paſſion or virtue may be the foundation of the ſcheme of an Epic poem. This diſtinction between two authors who have been ſo ſucceſsful, ſeem'd neceſſary to be taken notice of, that they who would imitate either may not ſtumble at the very entrance, or ſo curb their imaginations, as to deprive us of noble morals told in a new

Declare, O Muſe! in what ill-fated hour
Sprung the fierce ſtrife, from what offended pow'r?
Latona's

new variety of accidents. Imitation does not hinder Invention: We may obſerve the rules of nature, and write in the ſpirit of thoſe who have beſt hit upon them; without taking the ſame track, beginning in the ſame manner, and following the main of their ſtory almoſt ſtep by ſtep; as moſt of the modern writers of Epic poetry have done after one of theſe great Poets.

℣. 1.] *Quintilian* has told us, that from the beginning of *Homer*'s two poems the rules of all *Exordiums* were deriv'd. "*In pauciſſimis verſibus utriuſque operis ingreſſu, legem Proœmiorum* "*non dico ſervavit, ſed conſtituit.*" Yet *Rapin* has been very free with this invocation, in his *Compariſon between* Homer *and* Virgil; which is by no means the moſt judicious of his works. He cavils firſt at the Poet's inſiſting ſo much upon the effects of *Achilles*'s anger, That it was "the cauſe of the woes of the *Greeks*," that it "ſent ſo many Heroes to the ſhades," that "their bodies were left a prey to birds and beaſts," the firſt of which he thinks had been ſufficient. One may anſwer, that the woes of *Greece* might conſiſt in ſeveral other things than in the death of her Heroes, which was therefore needful to be ſpecify'd: As to the bodies, he might have reflected how great a curſe the want of burial was accounted by the ancients, and how prejudicial it was eſteem'd even to the ſouls of the deceas'd: we have a moſt particular example of the ſtrength of this opinion from the conduct of *Sophocles* in his *Ajax*; who thought this very point ſufficient to make the diſtreſs of the laſt act of that tragedy after the death of his Heroe, purely to ſatisfy the audience that he obtain'd the rites of ſepulture. Next he objects it as prepoſterous in *Homer* to deſire the Muſe to tell him the whole ſtory, and at the ſame time to inform her ſolemnly in his own perſon that 'twas the *will of Jove* which brought it about. But is a poet then to be imagin'd intirely ignorant of his ſubject, tho' he invokes the Muſe to relate the particulars? May not *Homer* be allow'd the knowledge of ſo plain a truth, as that the will of God is fulfill'd in all things? Nor does his manner of ſaying this infer that he *informs* the Muſe of it, but only correſponds with the uſual way of deſiring information from another concern-

ing

Latona's ſon a dire contagion ſpread,
And heap'd the camp with mountains of the dead;
The

ng any thing, and at the ſame time mentioning that little e know of it in general. What is there more in this paſ- ge? " Sing, O Goddeſs, that wrath of *Achilles*, which " prov'd ſo pernicious to the *Greeks*: We only know the ef- fects of it, that it ſent innumerable brave men to the ſhades, and that it was *Jove*'s will it ſhould be ſo. But tell me, O Muſe, what was the ſource of this deſtructive an- ger?" I can't apprehend what *Rapin* means by ſaying, it is ard to know where this *invocation* ends, and that it is con- ounded with the *narration*, which ſo manifeſtly begins at Λοιμὸς ἡ Διὸς υἱὸς. But upon the whole, methinks the *French* Criticks play double with us, when they ſometimes repreſent he rules of poetry to be form'd upon the practice of *Homer*, nd at other times arraign their maſter, as if he tranſgreſs'd hem. *Horace* has ſaid the *Exordium* of an Epic poem ought to e plain and modeſt, and inſtances *Homer*'s as ſuch; and *Ra- in* from this very rule will be trying *Homer* and judging it otherwiſe (for he criticiſes alſo upon the beginning of the *Odyſſey*.) But for a full anſwer we may bring the words of *Quintilian* (whom *Rapin* himſelf allows to be the beſt of Cri- ticks) concerning theſe propoſitions and invocations of our author. " *Benevolum autem* [illegible] *invocatione dearum quas præſidere* " *vatibus creditum eſt, intentum propoſitâ rerum magnitudine, & do-* " *cilem ſummâ celeriter comprehenſâ, facit.*

ϒ. 1.] Μῆνιν ἄειδε θεὰ Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος.

Plutarch obſerves there is a defect in the meaſure of this firſt line (I ſuppoſe he means in the *Eta*'s of the Patronymick.) This he thinks, the fiery vein of *Homer* making haſte to his ſubject, paſt over with a bold neglect, being conſcious of his own power and perfection in the greater parts; as ſome (ſays he) who make virtue their ſole aim, paſs by cenſure in ſmaller matters. But perhaps we may find no occaſion to ſuppoſe this a neglect in him, if we conſider that the word *Pelides*, had he made uſe of it without ſo many alterations as he has put it to in Πηληϊάδεω, would ſtill have been true to the rules of mea- ſure. Make but a diphtong of the ſecond *Eta* and the *Iota*, inſtead of their being two ſyllables (perhaps by the fault of tranſcribers) and the objection is gone. Or perhaps it might

be

The King of men his rev'rend Prieſt defy'd,
And, for the King's offence, the people dy'd.

be deſign'd, that the verſe in which he profeſſes to ſing of violent anger ſhould run off in the rapidity of Dactyles. This art he is allow'd to have us'd in other places, and *Virgil* has been particularly celebrated for it.

ver. 8. *Will of Jove.*] *Plutarch* in his treatiſe of reading Poets interprets Διὸς in this place to ſignify *Fate*, not imagining it conſiſtent with the goodneſs of the ſupreme being, or *Jupiter* to contrive or practiſe any evil againſt men. *Euſtathius* makes [*Will*] here to refer to the promiſe which *Jupiter* gave to *Thetis*, that he would honour her ſon by ſiding with *Troy* while he ſhould be abſent. But to reconcile theſe two opinions, perhaps the meaning may be, that when *Fate* had decreed the deſtruction of *Troy*, *Jupiter* having the power of incidents to bring it to paſs, fulfill'd that decree by providing means for it. So that the words may thus ſpecify the time of action, from the beginning of the poem, in which thoſe incidents work'd, 'till the promiſe to *Thetis* was fulfil'd, and the deſtruction of *Troy* aſcertain'd to the *Greeks* by the death of *Hector*. However it is certain that this Poet was not an abſolute *Fataliſt*, but ſtill ſuppos'd the power of *Jove* ſuperior: For in the ſixteenth *Iliad* we ſee him deſigning to ſave *Sarpedon*, tho' the Fates had decreed his death, if *Juno* had not interpoſed. Neither does he exclude *free-will* in men; for as he attributes the deſtruction of the Heroes to the *will* of *Jove* in the beginning of the *Iliad*, ſo he attributes the deſtruction of *Ulyſſes*'s friends to their *own folly* in the beginning of the *Odyſſes*.

Αὐτῶν γὰρ σφετέρῃσιν ἀτασθαλίῃσιν ὄλοντο.

ver. 9. *Declare, O Muſe.*] It may be queſtion'd whether the firſt period ends at Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βουλή, and the interrogation to the Muſe begins with Ἐξ οὗ δὴ τὰ πρῶτα——Or whether the period does not end 'till the words, δῖον Ἀχιλλῆα with only a ſingle interrogation at Τίς τ' ἄρ σφωε θεῶν——? I ſhould be inclin'd to favour the former, and think it a double interrogative, as *Milton* ſeems to have done in his imitation of this place at the beginning of his *Paradiſe loſt*.

——Say

For *Chryſes* fought with coſtly gifts to gain
is captive daughter from the victor's chain.
ppliant the venerable father ſtands,
pollo's awful enſigns grace his hands:
y theſe he begs; and lowly bending down,
xtends the ſceptre and the laurel crown.

He

——*Say firſt what cauſe*
Mov'd our grand parents? &c. And juſt after,
Who firſt ſeduc'd them to that foul revolt?

ſides that I think the proportion concludes more nobly
ith the ſentence, *Such was the will of* Jove. But the latter
ing follow'd by moſt editions, and by all the tranſlations I
ve ſeen in any language, the general acceptation is here
mply'd with, only tranſpoſing the line to keep the ſentence
ſt: And the next verſes are ſo turn'd as to include the
uble interrogation, and at the ſame time do juſtice to ano-
er interpretation of the words Ἐξ οὗ δὴ τὰ, *Ex quo tempore*;
ich marks the *date* of the quarrel from whence the poem
kes its riſe. *Chapman* would have *Ex quo* underſtood of *Jupi-*
, *from whom* the debate was ſuggeſted; but this claſhes with
e line immediately following, where he asks What God in-
ir'd the contention? and anſwers, It was *Apollo*.

℣. 11. Latona's *ſon.*] Here the Author, who firſt invok'd
e Muſe as the Goddeſs of Memory, vaniſhes from the rea-
r's view, and leaves her to relate the whole affair through
e poem, whoſe preſence from this time diffuſes an air of
jeſty over the relation. And leſt this ſhould be loſt to our
oughts in the continuation of the ſtory, he ſometimes re-
ſhes them with a new invocation at proper intervals. *Eu-*
thius.

℣. 20. *The ſceptre and the laurel crown.*] There is ſomething
ceedingly venerable in this appearance of the prieſt. He
mes with the enſigns of the God he belong'd to; the lau-
l crown, now carry'd in his hand to ſhew he was a ſuppliant;
d a golden ſceptre, which the ancients gave in particular to

Apollo,

He ſu'd to all, but chief implor'd for grace
The Brother-Kings, of *Atreus'* royal race.
Ye Kings and warriors! may your vows be crown
And *Troy's* proud walls lie level with the ground.
May *Jove* reſtore you, when your toils are o'er,
Safe to the pleaſures of your native ſhore.
But oh! relieve a wretched parent's pain,
And give *Chryſeïs* to theſe arms again;
If mercy fail, yet let my preſents move,
And dread avenging *Phœbus*, ſon of *Jove*.
The *Greeks* in ſhouts their joint aſſent declare,
The prieſt to rev'rence, and releaſe the fair.

Apollo, as they did a ſilver one to the moon, and other ſ
to other planets. *Euſtathius*.

℣. 23. *Ye Kings and warriors!*] The art of this ſpeech i
markable. *Chryſes* conſiders the conſtitution of the *Greek*
fore *Troy*, as made up of troops partly from Kingdoms,
partly from Democracies: Wherefore he begins with a diſti
ction which comprehends all. After this, as *Apollo's* pri
he prays that they may obtain the two bleſſings they had
in view, the conqueſt of *Troy*, and a ſafe return. Then a
names his petition, he offers an extraordinary ranſom;
concludes with bidding them fear the God if they refuſe
like one who from his office ſeems to foreſee their miſery
exhorts them to ſhun it. Thus he endeavours to work by
art of a general application, by religion, by intereſt, and
inſinuation of danger. This is the ſubſtance of what *Eu*
thius remarks on this place; and in purſuance of his laſt
ſervation, the epithet *Avenging* is added to this verſion, t
it may appear the prieſt foretels the anger of his God.

N

t ſo *Atrides:* He, with kingly pride,
puls'd the ſacred fire, and thus reply'd.
nce on thy life, and fly theſe hoſtile plains,
r aſk, preſumptuous, what the King detains;
nce, with thy laurel crown, and golden rod,
r truſt too far thoſe enſigns of thy God.
ne is thy daughter, Prieſt, and ſhall remain;
d pray'rs, and tears, and bribes ſhall plead in vain;
ll time ſhall rifle ev'ry youthful grace,
d age diſmiſs her from my cold embrace,

In

. 33. *He with pride repuls'd.*] It has been remark'd in ho-
ur of *Homer*'s judgment, and the care he took of his rea-
's morals, that where he ſpeaks of evil actions commit-
, or hard words given, he generally characterizes them as
h by a previous expreſſion. This paſſage is given as one
tance of it, where he ſays the repulſe of *Chryſes* was a
oud injurious action in *Agamemnon:* And it may be re-
ark'd, that before his Heroes treat one another with hard
nguage in this book, he ſtill takes care to let us know
ey were under a diſtraction of anger. Plutarch, *of reading*
ets.

. 41. 'Till time ſhall riſle ev'ry youthful grace,
And age diſmiſs her from my cold embrace,
In daily labours of the loom employ'd,
Or doom'd to deck the bed ſhe once enjoy'd.]

e *Greek* is ἀντιβολῇ, which ſignifies either *making* the bed,
partaking it. *Euſtathius* and Madam *Dacier* inſiſt very much
on its being taken in the former ſenſe only, for fear of
eſenting a looſe idea to the reader, and of offending againſt
e modeſty of the Muſe, who is ſuppos'd to relate the
oem. This obſervation may very well become a Biſhop and
Lady: But that *Agamemnon* was not ſtudying here for civi-

lity

In daily labours of the loom employ'd,
Or doom'd to deck the bed she once enjoy'd.
Hence then; to *Argos* shall the maid retire,
Far from her native soil, and weeping sire.
The trembling priest along the shore return'd,
And in the anguish of a father mourn'd.

lity of expression, appears from the whole tenour of his speech; and that he design'd *Chryseis* for more than a servant maid, may be seen from some other things he says of her, that he preferr'd her to his Queen *Clytamnestra*, &c. the impudence of which confession, Madam *Dacier* herself has elsewhere animadverted upon. Mr. *Dryden*, in his translation of this book, has been juster to the royal passion of *Agamemnon*; tho' he has carry'd the point so much on the other side as to make him promise a greater fondness for her in her age than in her youth, which indeed is hardly credible.

Mine she shall be, 'till creeping age and time
Her bloom have wither'd, and destroy'd her prime;
'Till then my nuptial bed she shall attend,
And having first adorn'd it, late ascend.
This for the night; by day the web and loom,
And homely household-tasks shall be her doom.

Nothing could have made Mr. *Dryden* capable of this mistake but extreme haste in writing; which never ought to be imputed as a fault to him, but to those who suffer'd so noble a genius to lie under the necessity of it.

v. 47. *The trembling Priest.*] We may take notice here, once for all, that *Homer* is frequently eloquent in his very silence. *Chryses* says not a word in answer to the insults of *Agamemnon*, but walks pensively along the shore: and the melancholy flowing of the verse admirably expresses the condition of the mournful and deserted father.

Βῆ δ' ἀκέων παρὰ θῖνα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης.

Discon-

iſconſolate, nor daring to complain,
lent he wander'd by the ſounding main:
Till, ſafe at diſtance, to his God he prays,
he God who darts around the world his rays.
O *Smintheus!* ſprung from fair *Latona*'s line,
hou guardian pow'r of *Cilla* the divine,
hou ſource of light! whom *Tenedos* adores,
nd whoſe bright preſence gilds thy *Chryſa*'s ſhores:
e'er with wreaths I hung thy ſacred fane,
r fed the flames with fat of oxen ſlain;
od of the ſilver bow! thy ſhafts employ,
venge thy ſervant, and the *Greeks* deſtroy.
Thus *Chryſes* pray'd: The fav'ring Pow'r attends,
nd from *Olympus'* lofty tops deſcends.
nt was his bow, the *Grecian* hearts to wound;
erce as he mov'd, his ſilver ſhafts reſound.
eathing revenge, a ſudden night he ſpread,
nd gloomy darkneſs roll'd around his head.

ℳ. 61. *The fav'ring God attends.*] Upon this firſt prayer in the em, *Euſtathius* takes occaſion to obſerve, that the poet is reful throughout his whole work to let no prayer ever fall tirely which has juſtice on its ſide; but he who prays, either ls his enemy, or has ſigns given him that he has been ard, or his friends return, or his undertaking ſucceeds, or me other viſible good happens. So far inſtructive and uſe- to life has *Homer* made his fable.

The

The fleet in view, he twang'd his deadly bow,
And hiſſing fly the feather'd fates below.
On mules and dogs th' infection firſt began;
And laſt, the vengeful arrows fix'd in man.

℣. 67. *He bent his deadly bow.*] In the tenth year of the ſi
of *Troy* a plague happen'd in the *Grecian* camp, occaſio
perhaps by immoderate heats and groſs exhalations. At
introduction of this accident *Homer* begins his Poem,
takes occaſion from it to open the ſcene of action wi
moſt beautiful allegory. He ſuppoſes that ſuch afflictions
ſent from Heaven for the puniſhment of our evil actions;
becauſe the Sun was a principal inſtrument of it, he ſay
was ſent to puniſh *Agamemnon* for deſpiſing that God,
injuring his prieſt. *Euſtathius.*

℣. 69. *Mules and dogs.*] *Hippocrates* obſerves two thing
plagues; that their cauſe is in the air, and that differen
nimals are differently touch'd by them, according to t
nature or nouriſhment. This philoſophy *Spondanus* refer
the plague here mention'd. Firſt, the cauſe is in the air,
reaſon of the darts or beams of *Apollo*. Secondly, the m
and dogs are ſaid to die ſooner than the men; partly bec
they have by nature a quickneſs of ſmell, which makes
infection ſooner perceivable; and partly by the nouriſh
they take, their feeding on the earth with prone heads,
king the exhalation more eaſy to be ſuck'd in with
Thus has *Hippocrates*, ſo long after *Homer* writ, ſubſcrib'd
his knowledge in the riſe and progreſs of this diſtem
There have been ſome who have referr'd this paſſage t
religious ſenſe, making the death of the mules and dogs
fore the men to point out a kind method of providenc
puniſhing, whereby it ſends ſome previous afflictions to
mankind, ſo as make them ſhun the greater evils by re
tance. This Monſieur *Dacier* in his notes on *Ariſtotle's*
of poetry, calls a Remark perfectly fine and agreeable
God's method of ſending plagues on the *Egyptians*, w
firſt horſes, aſſes, *&c.* were ſmitten, and afterwards the
themſelves.

For nine long nights, thro' all the dusky air
The *Pyres* thick-flaming shot a dismal glare.
But e're the tenth revolving day was run,
Inspir'd by *Juno*, *Thetis'* god-like son
Conven'd to council all the *Grecian* train;
For much the Goddess mourn'd her Heroes slain.
Th' assembly seated, rising o'er the rest,
Achilles thus the King of men addrest.
Why leave we not the fatal *Trojan* shore,
And measure back the seas we croſt before?

The

℣. 74. Thetis' *god-like son Convenes a council.*] On the tenth day a council is held to enquire why the Gods were angry? *Plutarch* observes, how justly he applies the characters of his persons, to the incidents; not making *Agamemnon* but *Achilles* call this council, who of all the Kings was most capable of making observations upon the plague, and of foreseeing its duration, as having been bred by *Chiron* to the study of Physick. One may mention also a remark of *Eustathius* in pursuance to this, that *Juno*'s advising him in this case might allude to his knowledge of an evil temperament in the Air, of which she was Goddess.

℣. 79. *Why leave we not the fatal* Trojan *shore*, &c.] The artifice of this speech (according to *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, in his second discourse, ἀεὶ ἐγκαλῶν μᾶλλον) is admirably carry'd on to open an accusation against *Agamemnon*, whom *Achilles* suspects to be the cause of all their miseries. He directs himself not to the assembly, but to *Agamemnon*; he names not only the plague but the war too, as having exhausted them all, which was evidently due to his family. He leads the *Augurs* he would consult, by pointing at something lately done with respect to *Apollo*. And while he continues within the guard of civil expression, scattering his insinuati-

The plague deſtroying whom the ſword would ſpare,
'Tis time to ſave the few remains of war.
But let ſome Prophet, or ſome ſacred Sage,
Explore the cauſe of great *Apollo*'s rage;
Or learn the waſtful vengeance to remove,
By myſtic dreams, for dreams deſcend from *Jove*.

ons, he encourages thoſe who may have more knowledge to ſpeak out boldly, by letting them ſee there is a party made for their ſafety; which has its effect immediately in the following ſpeech of *Chalcas*, whoſe demand of protection ſhews upon whom the offence is to be plac'd.

ver. 86. *By myſtick dreams.*] It does not ſeem that by the word ὀνειροπόλον an interpreter of dreams is meant, for we have no hint of any preceding dream which wants to be interpreted. We may therefore more probably refer it to ſuch who us'd (after performing proper rites) to lie down at ſome ſacred place, and expect a dream from the Gods upon any particular ſubject which they deſir'd. That this was a practice amongſt them, appears from the Temples of *Amphiaraus* in *Bœotia*, and *Podalirius* in *Apulia*, where the enquirer was obliged to ſleep at the altar upon the ſkin of the Beaſt he had ſacrific'd, in order to obtain an anſwer. It is in this manner that *Latinus* in *Virgil*'s ſeventh book goes to dream in the Temple of *Faunus*, where we have a particular deſcription of the whole cuſtom. *Strabo*, *lib.* 16. has ſpoken concerning the Temple of *Jeruſalem* as a place of this nature; "whete (ſays he) "the people either dream'd for themſelves, or procur'd "ſome good dreamer to do it:" By which it ſhould ſeem he had read ſomething concerning the viſion of their prophets, as that which *Samuel* had when he was order'd to ſleep a third time before the ark, and upon doing ſo had an account of the deſtruction of *Eli*'s houſe; or that which happen'd to *Solomon* after having ſacrific'd before the ark at *Gibeon*. The ſame author has alſo mention'd the Temple of *Serapis*, in his ſeventeenth book, as a place for receiving oracles by dreams.

If

f broken vows this heavy curſe have laid,
Let altars ſmoke, and hecatombs be paid.
So Heav'n aton'd ſhall dying *Greece* reſtore,
And *Phœbus* dart his burning ſhafts no more.
He ſaid, and ſate: when *Chalcas* thus reply'd,
Chalcas the wiſe, the *Grecian* prieſt and guide,
That ſacred Seer, whoſe comprehenſive view
The paſt, the preſent, and the future knew.
Upriſing ſlow, the venerable Sage
Thus ſpoke the prudence and the fears of age.
Belov'd of *Jove*, *Achilles!* would'ſt thou know
Why angry *Phœbus* bends his fatal bow?
Firſt give thy faith, and plight a Prince's word
Of ſure protection, by thy pow'r and ſword.
For I muſt ſpeak what wiſdom would conceal,
And truths, invidious to the Great, reveal.

¶. 97. *Belov'd of* Jove, Achilles!] Theſe appellations of raiſe and honour, with which the Heroes in *Homer* ſo frequently ſalute each other, were agreeable to the ſtyle of the ancient times, as appears from ſeveral of the like nature in the ſcripture. *Milton* has not been wanting to give his poem his caſt of antiquity, throughout which our firſt parents almoſt always accoſt each other with ſome title, that expreſſes reſpect to the dignity of human nature.

Daughter of God and Man, immortal Eve.——
Adam, *Earth's hollow'd mould of God inſpir'd.*——
Offspring of Heaven and earth, and all earth's Lord, &c.

Bold is the task, when subjects grown too wise,
Instruct a Monarch where his error lies;
For tho' we deem the short-liv'd fury past,
'Tis sure, the Mighty will revenge at last.
To whom *Pelides*. From thy inmost soul
Speak what thou know'st, and speak without controul.
Ev'n by that God I swear, who rules the day,
To whom thy hands the vows of *Greece* convey,
And whose bless Oracles thy lips declare;
Long as *Achilles* breathes this vital air,
No daring *Greek* of all the num'rous band,
Against his Priest shall lift an impious hand:
Not ev'n the Chief by whom our hosts are led,
The King of Kings, shall touch that sacred head.
Encourag'd thus, the blameless man replies;
Nor vows unpaid, nor slighted sacrifice,

Ver. 115. *Not ev'n the chief.*] After *Achilles* had brought *Chalcas* by his dark doubts concerning *Agamemnon*, *Chalcas* who perceiv'd them, and was unwilling to be the first that nam'd the King, artfully demands a protection in such a manner, as confirms those doubts, and extorts from *Achilles* this warm and particular expression, "That he would protect him even "gainst *Agamemnon*," (who, as he says, is now the greatest man of *Greece*, to hint that at the expiration of the war he should be again reduc'd to be barely King of *Mycenæ*.) This place *Plutarch* takes notice of as the first in which *Achilles* shews his contempt of sovereign authority.

Ver. 117. *The blameless.*] The epithet ἀμύμων, or *blameless*,

But he, our Chief, provok'd the raging peſt,
Apollo's vengeance for his injur'd Prieſt.
Nor will the God's awaken'd fury ceaſe,
But plagues ſhall ſpread, and fun'ral fires increaſe,
'Till the great King, without a ranſom paid,
To her own *Chryſa* ſend the black-ey'd maid.
Perhaps, with added ſacrifice and pray'r,
The Prieſt may pardon, and the God may ſpare.
The Prophet ſpoke; when with a gloomy frown
The Monarch ſtarted from his ſhining throne;
Black choler fill'd his breaſt that boil'd with ire,
And from his eyeballs flaſh'd the living fire.
Augur accurſt! denouncing miſchief ſtill,
Prophet of plagues, for ever boding ill!

Still

ſt, is frequent in *Homer*, but not always us'd with ſo much propriety as here. The reader may obſerve that care has not been wanting thro' this tranſlation, to preſerve thoſe epithets which are peculiar to the author, whenever they receive any beauty from the circumſtances about them; as this of *blame-* manifeſtly does in the preſent paſſage. It is not only apply'd to a prieſt, but to one who being conſcious of the truth, prepares with an honeſt boldneſs to diſcover it.

V. 131. *Augur accurſt.*] This expreſſion is not merely thrown out by chance, but proves what *Coalcas* ſaid of the King when he ask'd protection, "That he harbour'd anger in his heart." or it aims at the prediction *Chalcas* had given at *Aulis* nine years before, for the ſacrificing his daughter *Iphigenia*. *Spondanus.*

This, and the two following lines, are in a manner repeti-

Still muſt that tongue ſome wounding meſſage bring,
And ſtill thy prieſtly pride provoke thy King?
For this are *Phœbus* Oracles explor'd,
To teach the *Greeks* to murmur at their Lord?
For this with falſhoods is my honour ſtain'd;
Is Heav'n offended, and a prieſt profan'd,
Becauſe my prize, my beauteous maid I hold,
And heav'nly charms prefer to proffer'd gold?
A maid, unmatch'd in manners as in face,
Skill'd in each art, and crown'd with every grace.
Not half ſo dear were *Clytæmneſtra*'s charms,
When firſt her blooming beauties bleſt my arms.

tions of the ſame thing thrice over. It is left to the rea to conſider how far it may be allow'd, or rather prais'd fo beauty, when we conſider with *Euſtathius* that it is a moſt n tural effect of anger to be full of words, and inſiſting that which galls us. We may add, that theſe reiterated e preſſions might be ſuppos'd to be thrown out one after a ther, as *Agamemnon* is ſtruck in the confuſion of his paſ firſt by the remembrance of one prophecy, and then of a ther, which the ſame man had utter'd againſt him.

℣. 143. *Not half ſo dear were* Clytæmneſtra's *charms.*] *A memnon* having heard the charge which *Chalcas* drew up a him in two particulars, that he had affronted the Prieſt, refus'd to reſtore his daughter; he offers one anſwer w gives ſoftening colours to both, that he lov'd her as wel his Queen *Clytæmneſtra* for her perfections. Thus he w ſeem to ſatisfy the father by kindneſs to his daughter, to e cuſe himſelf before the *Greeks* for what is paſt, and to m a merit of yielding her, and ſacrificing his paſſion for t ſafety.

Y

Yet if the Gods demand her, let her ſail;
Our cares are only for the publick weal:
Let me be deem'd the hateful cauſe of all,
And ſuffer, rather than my people fall.
The prize, the beauteous prize I will reſign,
So dearly valu'd, and ſo juſtly mine.
But ſince for common good I yield the fair,
My private loſs let grateful *Greece* repair;
Nor unrewarded let your Prince complain,
That he alone has fought and bled in vain.
Inſatiate King (*Achilles* thus replies)
Fond of the pow'r, but fonder of the prize!
Would'ſt

v. 155. *Inſatiate King.*] Here, where this paſſion of anger grows loud, it ſeems proper to prepare the reader, and prevent his miſtake in the character of *Achilles*, which might ſhock him in ſeveral particulars following. We ſhould know, that the Poet rather ſtudy'd nature than perfection, in the laying down his characters. He reſolv'd to ſing the conſequences of anger; he conſider'd what virtues and vices would conduce moſt to bring his Moral out of the Fable; and artfully diſpos'd them in his chief perſons after the manner in which We generally find them; making the fault which moſt peculiarly attends any good quality, to reſide with it. Thus he has plac'd pride with magnanimity in *Agamemnon*, and craft with prudence in *Ulyſſes*. And thus we muſt take his *Achilles*, not as a mere heroick diſpaſſion'd character, but as compounded of courage and anger; one Who finds himſelf almoſt invincible, and aſſumes an uncontroul'd carriage upon the ſelf-conſciouſneſs of his worth; whoſe high ſtrain of honour will not ſuffer him to betray his friends, or fight againſt them, even when he thinks they have affronted him;

Would'ſt thou the *Greeks* their lawful prey ſhould yield,
The due reward of many a well-fought field?
The ſpoils of cities raz'd, and warriors ſlain,
We ſhare with juſtice, as with toil we gain:
But to reſume whate'er thy av'rice craves,
(That trick of Tyrants) may be born by ſlaves.
Yet if our Chief for plunder only fight,
The ſpoils of *Ilion* ſhall thy loſs requite,
Whene'er, by *Jove*'s decree, our conqu'ring pow'rs
Shall humble to the duſt her lofty tow'rs.
Then thus the King. Shall I my prize reſign
With tame content, and thou poſſeſt of thine?
Great as thou art, and like a God in fight,
Think not to rob me of a ſoldier's right.

but whoſe inexorable reſentment will not let him hearken to any terms of accommodation. Theſe are the ſlights and ſhades of his character, which *Homer* has heighten'd and darken'd in extremes; becauſe on the one ſide valour is the darling quality of Epic Poetry, and on the other, anger the particular ſubject of this Poem. When characters thus mix'd are well conducted, tho' they be not morally beautiful quite through, they conduce more to the end, and are ſtill poetically perfect.

Plutarch takes occaſion from the obſervation of this conduct in *Homer*, to applaud his juſt imitation of nature and truth, in repreſenting virtues and vices intermixed in his Heroes: contrary to the paradoxes and ſtrange poſitions of the Stoics, who held that no vice could conſiſt with virtue, nor the leaſt virtue with vice. Plut. *de aud. Poetis.*

v. 169. *Great as thou art, and like a God in fight.*] The word

At thy demand ſhall I reſtore the maid?
First let the juſt equivalent be paid;
Such as a King might aſk; and let it be
A treaſure worthy her, and worthy me.
Or grant me this, or with a monarch's claim
This hand ſhall ſeize ſome other captive dame.
The mighty *Ajax* ſhall his prize reſign,
Ulyſſes' ſpoils, or ev'n thy own be mine.
The man who ſuffers, loudly may complain;
And rage he may, but he ſhall rage in vain.

in the original are Θεοείκελ' Ἀχιλλεῦ. *Ulyſſes* is ſoon after call'd Δῖε, and others in other places. The phraſe of *divine* or *god-like* is not uſed by the Poet to ſignify perfection in men, but apply'd to conſiderable perſons upon account of ſome particular qualification or advantage, which they were poſſeſs'd of far above the common ſtandard of mankind. Thus it is aſcrib'd to *Achilles* on account of his great valour, to *Ulyſſes* for his preheminence in wiſdom: even to *Paris* for his exceeding beauty, and to *Clytamneſtra* for ſeveral fair endowments.

℣. 172. *Firſt let the juſt equivalent.*] The reaſoning in point of right between *Achilles* and *Agamemnon* ſeems to be this. *Achilles* pleads that *Agamemnon* could not ſeize upon any other man's captive without a new diſtribution, it being an invaſion of private property. On the other hand, as *Agamemnon*'s power was limited, how came it that all the *Grecian* Captains would ſubmit to an illegal and arbitrary action? I think the legal pretence for his ſeizing *Briſeis* muſt have been founded upon that Law, whereby the Commander in chief had the power of taking what part of the prey he pleas'd for his own uſe: And he being oblig'd to reſtore what he had taken, it ſeem'd but juſt that he ſhould have a ſecond choice.

But this when time requires——It now remains
We launch a bark to plow the watry plains,
And waft the ſacrifice to *Chryſa*'s ſhores,
With choſen pilots, and with lab'ring oars.
Soon ſhall the fair the ſable ſhip aſcend,
And ſome deputed Prince the charge attend:
This *Creta*'s King, or *Ajax* ſhall fulfill,
Or wiſe *Ulyſſes* ſee perform'd our will;
Or, if our royal Pleaſure ſhall ordain,
Achilles ſelf conduct her o'er the Main;
Let fierce *Achilles*, dreadful in his rage,
The God propitiate, and the peſt aſſwage.
At this, *Pelides* frowning ſtern, reply'd:
O tyrant, arm'd with inſolence and pride!
Inglorious ſlave to int'reſt, ever join'd
With fraud, unworthy of a royal mind!
What gen'rous *Greek*, obedient to thy word,
Shall form an ambuſh, or ſhall lift the ſword?
What cauſe have I to war at thy decree?
The diſtant *Trojans* never injur'd me:
To *Phthia*'s realms no hoſtile troops they led,
Safe in her vales my warlike courſers fed;
Far hence remov'd, the hoarſe-reſounding main,
And walls of rocks, ſecure my native reign,

Whoſe

Whoſe fruitful ſoil luxuriant harveſts grace,
Rich in her fruits, and in her martial race.
Hither we ſail'd, a voluntary throng,
T'avenge a private, not a publick wrong:
What elſe to *Troy* th' aſſembled nations draws,
But thine, ungrateful, and thy brother's cauſe?
Is this the pay our blood and toils deſerve,
Diſgrac'd and injur'd by the man we ſerve?
And dar'ſt thou threat to ſnatch my prize away,
Due to the deeds of many a dreadful day?

℣. 213. *And dar'ſt thou threat to ſnatch my prize away,*
Due to the deeds of many a dreadful day?

The anger of theſe two Princes was equally upon the account of women, but yet it is obſervable that they are conducted with a different air. *Agamemnon* appears as a lover, *Achilles* as a warriour: The one ſpeaks of *Chryſeis* as a beauty whom he valu'd equal to his wife, and whoſe merit was too conſiderable to be eaſily reſign'd; the other treats *Briſeis* as a ſlave, whom he is concern'd to preſerve in point of honour, and as a teſtimony of his glory. Hence it is that we never hear him mention her but as his *Spoil*, the *Reward of war*, the *Gift the* Grecians *gave him*, or the like expreſſions: And accordingly he yields her up, not in grief for a miſtreſs whom he loſes, but in ſullenneſs for an injury that is done him. This obſervation is Madam *Dacier's*, and will often appear juſt as we proceed farther. Nothing is finer than the Moral ſhewn us in this quarrel, of the blindneſs and partiality of mankind to their own faults: The *Grecians* make a war to recover a woman that was raviſh'd, and are in danger to fail in the attempt by a diſpute about another. *Agamemnon* while he is revenging a rape, commits one; and *Achilles* while he is in the utmoſt fury himſelf, reproaches *Agamemnon* for his paſſionate temper.

A prize as small, O tyrant! match'd with thine,
As thy own actions if compar'd to mine.
Thine in each conquest is the wealthy prey,
Tho' mine the sweat and danger of the day.
Some trivial present to my ships I bear,
Or barren praises pay the wounds of war.
But know, proud monarch, I'm thy slave no more;
My fleet shall waft me to *Thessalia*'s shore.
Left by *Achilles* on the *Trojan* plain,
What spoils, what conquests shall *Atrides* gain?
To this the King: Fly, mighty warriour! fly,
Thy aid we need not, and thy threats defy.
There want not chiefs in such a cause to fight,
And *Jove* himself shall guard a monarch's right.
Of all the Kings (the Gods distinguish'd care)
To pow'r superior none such hatred bear:

Strife

℣. 225. *Fly, mighty warriour.*] *Achilles* having threaten'd to leave them in the former speech and spoken of his warlike actions; the Poet here puts an artful peice of spite in the mouth of *Agamemnon*, making him opprobriously brand his retreat as a flight, and lessen the appearance of his courage, by calling it the love of contention and slaughter.

℣. 229. *Kings, the Gods distinguish'd care.*] In the original it is Διοτρεφεῖς, or *nurst by* Jove. *Homer* often uses to call his Kings by such epithets as Διογενεῖς, *born of the Gods*, or Διοτρεφεῖς, *bred by the Gods*; by which he points out to themselves the offices they were ordain'd for; and to their people, the reverence

Strife and debate thy reſtleſs ſoul employ,
And wars and horrors are thy ſavage joy.
If thou haſt ſtrength, 'twas Heav'n that ſtrength be-
For know, vain man! thy valour is from God. [ſtow'd,
Haſte, launch thy veſſels, fly with ſpeed away,
Rule thy own realms with arbitrary ſway:
I heed thee not, but prize at equal rate
Thy ſhort-liv'd friendſhip, and thy groundleſs hate.
Go, threat thy earth-born *Myrmidons*; but here
'Tis mine to threaten, Prince, and thine to fear.
Know, if the God the beauteous dame demand,
My bark ſhall waft her to her native land;
But then prepare, imperious Prince! prepare,
Fierce as thou art, to yield thy captive fair:
Ev'n in thy tent I'll ſeize the blooming prize,
Thy lov'd *Briſeïs* with the radiant eyes.
Hence ſhalt thou prove my might, and curſe the hour;
Thou ſtood'ſt a rival of imperial pow'r;
And hence to all our hoſt it ſhall be known,
That Kings are ſubject to the Gods alone.

everence that ſhould be paid them. Theſe expreſſions are erfectly in the exalted ſtyle of the eaſtern nations, and cor- eſpondent to thoſe places of holy ſcripture where they are all'd *Gods*, and *the Sons of the moſt High*.

Achilles

Achilles heard, with grief and rage oppreſt,
His heart ſwell'd high, and labour'd in his breaſt.
Diſtracting thoughts by turns his boſom rul'd,
Now fir'd by wrath, and now by reaſon cool'd:
That prompts his hand to draw the deadly ſword,
Force thro' the *Greeks*, and pierce their haughty Lord;
This whiſpers ſoft, his vengeance to controul,
And calm the riſing tempeſt of his ſoul.
Juſt as in anguiſh of ſuſpence he ſtay'd,
While half unſheath'd appear'd the glitt'ring blade,
Minerva ſwift deſcended from above;
*Juno. Sent by the * ſiſter and the wife of *Jove*:

(For

℣. 261. Minerva *ſwift deſcended from above.*] *Homer* having by degrees rais'd *Achilles* to ſuch a pitch of fury, as to make him capable of attempting *Agamemnon*'s life in the council, *Pallas* the Goddeſs of Wiſdom deſcends, and being ſeen only by him, pulls him back in the very inſtant of execution. He parlies with her a while, as imagining ſhe would adviſe him to proceed, but upon the promiſe of ſuch a time wherein there ſhould be a full reparation of his honour, he ſheaths his ſword in obedience to her. She aſcends to Heaven, and he being left to himſelf, falls again upon his General with bitter expreſſions. The *allegory* here may be allow'd by every reader to be unforc'd: The prudence of *Achilles* checks him in the raſheſt moment of his anger, it works upon him unſeen to others, but does not entirely prevail upon him to deſiſt 'till he remembers his own importance, and depends upon it that there will be a neceſſity of their courting him at any expence into the alliance again. Having perſuaded himſelf by ſuch reflexions, he forbears to attack his General, but thinking that he ſacrifices enough to prudence by this forbearance,

or both the Princes claim'd her equal care)
hind ſhe ſtood, and by the golden hair
chilles ſeiz'd; to him alone conſeſt;
ſable cloud conceal'd her from the reſt.
e ſees, and ſudden to the Goddeſs cries,
nown by the flames that ſparkle from her Eyes.
Deſcends *Minerva*, in her guardian care,
heav'nly witneſs of the wrongs I bear.

arance, lets the thought of it vaniſh from him; and no oner is wiſdom gone, but he falls into more violent re- oaches for the gratification of his paſſion. All this is a oſt beautiful paſſage, whoſe Moral is evident, and general- agreed on by the Commentators.

ſ. 268. *Known by the flames that ſparkled from her eyes.*] They no carry on this allegory after the moſt minute manner, re- r this to the eyes of *Achilles*, as indeed we muſt, if we en- rely deſtroy the bodily appearance of *Minerva*. But what oet deſigning to have his Moral ſo open, would take pains form it into a Fable? In the proper mythological ſenſe, is paſſage ſhould be referr'd to *Minerva*; according to an pinion of the ancients, who ſuppos'd that the Gods had a eculiar light in their eyes. That *Homer* was not ignorant of. is opinion, appears from his uſe of it in other places, as- hen in the third *Iliad* *Helena* by this means diſcovers *Venus*; nd that he meant it here is particularly aſſerted by *Heliodo- s*, in the third book of his *Æthiopick* hiſtory. "The Gods, ys he, " are known in their apparitions to men by the fix'd glare of their eyes, or their gliding paſſage through air, without moving their feet; theſe marks *Homer* has us'd from his knowledge of the *Ægyptian* learning, applying one to *Pallas*, and the other to *Neptune*. ". Madam *Dacier* as gone into the contrary opinion, and blames *Euſtathius* and thers without overthrowing theſe authorities, or aſſigning ny other reaſon but that it was not proper for *Minerva*'s eyes o *ſparkle*, when her ſpeech was *mild*.

From

From *Atreus'* ſon? Then let thoſe eyes that view
The daring crime, behold the vengeance too.
Forbear! (the progeny of *Jove* replies)
To calm thy fury I forſake the ſkies:
Let great *Achilles*, to the Gods reſign'd,
To reaſon yield the empire o'er his mind.
By awful *Juno* this command is giv'n;
The King and you are both the care of Heav'n.
The force of keen reproaches let him feel,
But ſheath, obedient, thy revenging ſteel.
For I pronounce (and truſt a heav'nly pow'r)
Thy injur'd honour has its fated hour,
When the proud monarch ſhall thy arms implore,
And bribe thy friendſhip with a boundleſs ſtore.
Then let revenge no longer bear the ſway,
Command thy paſſions, and the Gods obey.
To her *Pelides*. With regardful ear
'Tis juſt, O Goddeſs! I thy dictates hear.
Hard as it is, my vengeance I ſuppreſs:
Thoſe who revere the Gods, the Gods will bleſs.
He ſaid, obſervant of the blue-ey'd maid;
Then in the ſheath return'd the ſhining blade.
The Goddeſs ſwift to high *Olympus* flies,
And joins the ſacred ſenate of the ſkies.

Nor yet the rage his boiling breaſt forſook,
Which thus redoubling on *Atrides* broke.
O monſter! mix'd of inſolence and fear,
Thou dog in forehead, but in heart a deer!
When wert thou known in ambuſh'd fights to dare,
Or nobly face the horrid front of war?

℣. 298. *Thou dog in forehead.*] It has been one of the objections againſt the manners of *Homer*'s Heroes, that they are abuſive. Monſ. *de la Motte* affirms in his diſcourſe upon the *Iliad*, that great men differ from the vulgar in their manner of expreſſing their paſſion; but certainly in violent paſſions ſuch as thoſe of *Achilles* and *Agamemnon*) the Great are as ſubject as any others to theſe ſallies; of which we have frequent examples both from hiſtory and experience. *Plutarch*, taking notice of this line, gives it as a particular commendation of *Homer*, that "he conſtantly affords us a fine lecture of morality in his reprehenſions and praiſes, by referring them not to the goods of fortune or the body, but thoſe of the mind, which are in our power, and for which we are blameable or praiſe-worthy. Thus, ſays he, *Agamemnon* is reproach'd for impudence and fear, *Ajax* for vain-bragging, *Idomeneus* for the love of contention, and *Ulyſſes* does not reprove even *Therſites* but as a babbler, tho' he had ſo many perſonal deformities to object to him. In like manner alſo the appellations and epithets with which they accoſt one another, are generally founded on ſome diſtinguiſhing qualification of merit, as *Wiſe* Ulyſſes, Hector *equal to* Jove *in Wiſdom*, Achilles *chief Glory of the* Greeks," and the like. Plutarch *of reading Poets.*

℣. 299. *In ambuſh'd fights to dare.*] *Homer* has magnify'd the *ambuſh* as the boldeſt manner of fight. They went upon thoſe parties with a few men only, and generally the moſt daring of the army, on occaſions of the greateſt hazard, where they were therefore more expos'd than in a regular battel. Thus *Idomeneus* in the thirteenth book, expreſsly tells *Meriones*, that the greateſt courage appears in this way of ſervice, each man being in a manner ſingled out to the proof of it. *Euſtathius.*

'Tis

'Tis ours, the chance of fighting fields to try,
Thine to look on, and bid the Valiant dye.
So much 'tis safer thro' the camp to go,
And rob a subject, then despoil a foe.
Scourge of thy people, violent and base!
Sent in *Joves* anger on a slavish race,
Who lost to sense of gen'rous freedom past,
Are tam'd to wrongs, or this had been thy last.
Now by this sacred sceptre, hear me swear,
Which never more shall leaves or blossoms bear,

Whic

v. 309. *Now by this sacred sceptre*] *Spondanus* in this pla blames *Eustathius*, for saying that *Homer*, makes *Achilles* in passion swear by the first thing he meets with; and then assigns (as from himself) two causes, which the other had mention'd so plainly before, that it is a wonder they could be overlook'd. The substance of the whole passage in *Eustathius*, is, that if we consider the sceptre simply as wood, *Achilles* after the manner of the ancients takes in his transport the first thing to swear by; but that *Homer* himself has in the process of the description assign'd reasons why it is proper for the occasion, which may be seen by considering it symbolically. First, That as the wood being cut from the tree will never reunite and flourish, so neither should their amity ever flourish again, after they were divided by this contention. Secondly, That a sceptre being the mark of power, and symbol of justice, to swear by it might in effect be construed swearing by the God of Power, and by Justice itself; and accordingly it is spoken of by *Aristotle*, 3. *l. Polit.* as a usual solemn oath of Kings.

I cannot leave this passage without showing, in opposition to some moderns who have criticiz'd upon it as tedious, that it has been esteem'd a beauty by the ancients and engaged them

Which sever'd from the trunk (as I from thee)
On the bare mountains left its parent tree;
This sceptre, form'd by temper'd steel to prove
An ensign of the delegates of *Jove*,

hem in its imitation. *Virgil* has almost transcrib'd it in his 2 *Æn.* for the sceptre of *Latinus*.

Ut sceptrum hoc (sceptrum dextrâ nam fortè gerebat)
Nunquam fronde levi fundet virgulta nec umbras
Cùm semel in sylvis imo de stipite rectum,
Matre caret, posuitque comas & brachia ferro:
Olim arbos, nunc artificis manus ære decoro
Inclusit, patribusque dedit gestare Latinis.

ut I cannot think this comes up to the spirit or propriety of *Homer*, notwithstanding the judgment of *Scaliger*, who decides for *Virgil*, upon a trivial comparison of the wording in each, l. 5. *cap.* 3. *Poet.* It fails in a greater point than any he has men-ion'd, which is, that being there us'd on occasion of a peace, t has no emblematical reference to division; and yet describes he cutting of the wood and its incapacity to bloom and ranch again, in as many words as *Homer*. It is borrow'd by *Valerius Flaccus* in his third book, where he makes *Jason* swear s a warrior by his spear,

Hanc ego magnanimi spolium Didymaonis hastam,
Ut semel est avulsa jugis à matre peremptæ,
Quæ neque jam frondes virides neque proferet umbras,
Fida ministeria & duras obit horrida pugnas,
Testor.

And indeed, however he may here borrow some expressions from *Virgil* or fall below him in others, he has nevertheless kept to *Homer* in the emblem, by introducing the oath upon Jason's grief for sailing to *Colchis* without *Hercules*, when he had separated him from the body of the *Argonauts* to search after *Hylas*. To render the beauty of this passage more manifest the allusion is inserted (but with the fewest words possible) in this translation.

From

From whom the pow'r of laws and juſtice ſprings:
(Tremendous oath! inviolate to Kings)
By this I ſwear, when bleeding *Greece* again
Shall call *Achilles*, ſhe ſhall call in vain.
When ſlaugh'd with ſlaughter, *Hector* comes to ſpre
The purpled ſhore with mountains of the dead,
Then ſhalt thou mourn th' affront thy madneſs ga
Forc'd to deplore, when impotent to ſave:
Then rage in bitterneſs of ſoul, to know
This act has made the braveſt *Greek* thy foe.
He ſpoke; and furious, hurl'd againſt the gro
His ſceptre ſtarr'd with golden ſtuds around.
Then ſternly ſilent ſate. With like diſdain,
The raging King return'd his frowns again.
To calm their paſſion with the words of age,
Slow from his ſeat aroſe the *Pylian* ſage,
Experienc'd *Neſtor*, in perſuaſion ſkill'd,
Words, ſweet as honey, from his lips diſtill'd:

℣. 324. *Thy raſhneſs made the braveſt* Greek *thy foe.*] ſelf-praiſe had not been agreeable to the haughty nature *Achilles*, yet *Plutarch* has mention'd a caſe, and with reſp to him, wherein it is allowable. He ſays that *Achilles* has other times aſcrib'd his ſucceſs to *Jupiter*, but it is permitt to a man of merit and figure who is injuriouſly dealt with, ſpeak frankly of himſelf to thoſe who are forgetful and u thankful.

Two

o generations now had paſt away,
ſe by his rules, and happy by his ſway;
o ages o'er his native realm he reign'd,
d now th' example of the third remain'd.
view'd with awe the venerable man;
o thus, with mild benevolence, began:
What ſhame, what woe is this to *Greece!* what joy
Troy's proud monarch, and the friends of *Troy!*
That

. 333. *Two generations.*] The Commentators make not
r to have liv'd three hundred years (according to *Ovid*'s
ion;) they take the word γενεὰ not to ſignify a century
ge of the world; but a generation or compaſs of time in
h one ſet of men flouriſh, which in the common compu-
n is thirty years; and accordingly it is here tranſlated as
h the more probable.
rom what *Neſtor* ſays in this ſpeech, Madam *Dacier* com-
s the age he was of at the end of the *Trojan* war. The fight
he *Lapithæ* and *Centaurs* fell out fifty five or fifty ſix years
re the war of *Troy*: The quarrel of *Agamemnon* and *Achil-*
appen'd in the tenth and laſt year of that war. It was
ſixty five or ſixty ſix years ſince *Neſtor* fought againſt
Centaurs; he was capable at that time of giving counſel,
hat one cannot imagine him to have been under twenty:
m whence it will appear that he was now almoſt arriv'd
he concluſion of his third age, and about fourſcore and
or fourſcore and ſix years of age.
. 339. *What ſhame.*] The quarrel having riſen to its higheſt
avagance, *Neſtor* the wiſeſt and moſt aged *Greek* is raiſed
uiet the Princes, whoſe ſpeech is therefore fram'd entirely
an oppoſite air to all which has been hitherto ſaid, ſe-
and inoffenſive. He begins with a ſoft affectionate com-
nt which he oppoſes to their threats and haughty language;
econciles their attention in an awful manner, by putting
n in mind that they hear one whom their fathers and the
greateſt

That adverſe Gods commit to ſtern debate
The beſt, the braveſt of the *Grecian* ſtate.
Young as ye are, this youthful heat reſtrain,
Nor think your *Neſtor*'s years and wiſdom vain.
A Godlike race of Heroes once I knew,
Such, as no more theſe aged eyes ſhall view!
Lives there a chief to match *Pirithous*' fame.
Dryas the bold, or *Ceneus*' deathleſs name.

greateſt Heroes had heard with deference. He ſides wi neither, that he might not anger any one, while he adviſ them to the proper methods of reconciliation; and he appea to ſide with both while he praiſes each, that they may be in duc'd by the recollection of one another's worth to retu to that amity which would bring ſucceſs to the cauſe. I was not however conſiſtent with the plan of the poem th they ſhould entirely be appeas'd, for then the anger wou be at an end which was propos'd as the ſubject of the Po em. *Homer* has not therefore made this ſpeech to have i full ſucceſs; and yet that the eloquence of his *Neſtor* mig not be thrown out of character by its proving unavailab he takes care that the violence with which the diſpute w manag'd ſhould abate immediately upon his ſpeaking; *Ag memnon* confeſſes that all he ſpoke was right, *Achilles* prom ſes not to fight for *Briſeïs* if ſhe ſhould be ſent for, and th council diſſolves.

It is to be obſerv'd that this character of authority an wiſdom in *Neſtor*, is every where admirably uſed by *Homer*, an made to exert itſelf thro' all the great emergencies of th poem. As he quiets the Princes here, he propoſes that ex pedient which reduces the army into their order after th Sedition in the ſecond book. When the *Greeks* are in the u moſt diſtreſſes, 'tis he who adviſes the building the fortifica tion before the fleet, which is the chief means of preſervi them. And it is by his perſuaſion that *Patroclus* puts on th armour of *Achilles*, which occaſions the return of that Hero and the conqueſt of *Troy*.

Theſe

heſeus, endu'd with more than mortal might,
r *Polyphemus* like the Gods in fight?
ith theſe of old to toils of battel bred,
early youth my hardy days I led;
'd with the thirſt which virtuous envy breeds,
d ſmit with love of honourable deeds.
ongeſt of Men, they pierc'd the mountain boar,
ng'd the wild deſarts red with monſters gore,
d from their hills the ſhaggy *Centaurs* tore.
t theſe with ſoft, perſuaſive arts I ſway'd;
hen *Neſtor* ſpoke, they liſten'd and obey'd.
n my youth, ev'n theſe eſteem'd me wiſe,
you, young warriors, hear my age adviſe.
ides, ſeize not on the beauteous ſlave;
at prize the *Greeks* by common ſuffrage gave:
thou, *Achilles*, treat our Prince with pride;
Kings be juſt, and ſov'reign pow'r preſide.
ee, the firſt honours of the war adorn,
e Gods in ſtrength, and of a Goddeſs born;
n, awful majeſty exalts above
pow'rs of earth, and ſceptred ſons of *Jove*.
both unite with well-conſenting mind,
all authority with ſtrength be join'd.

Leave

Leave me, O King! to calm *Achilles'* rage;
Rule thou thy ſelf, as more advanc'd in age.
Forbid it Gods! *Achilles* ſhould be loſt,
The pride of *Greece*, and bulwark of our hoſt.
This ſaid, he ceas'd: The King of Men replie
Thy years are awful, and thy words are wiſe.
But that imperious, that unconquer'd ſoul,
No laws can limit, no reſpect controul.
Before his pride muſt his ſuperiors fall,
His word the law, and he the Lord of all?
Him muſt our hoſts, our chiefs, our ſelf obey?
What King can bear a rival in his ſway?
Grant that the Gods his matchleſs force have giv'n;
Has foul reproach a privilege from heav'n?
Here on the Monarch's ſpeech *Achilles* broke,
And furious, thus, and interrupting ſpoke.
Tyrant, I well deſerv'd thy galling chain,
To live thy ſlave, and ſtill to ſerve in vain,
Should I ſubmit to each unjuſt decree:
Command thy vaſſals, but command not me.
Seize on *Briſeïs*, whom the *Grecians* doom'd
My prize of war, yet tamely ſee reſum'd;

And ſeize ſecure; No more *Achilles* draws
His conqu'ring ſword in any woman's cauſe.
The Gods command me to forgive the paſt;
But let this firſt invaſion be the laſt:
For know, thy blood, when next thou dar'ſt invade,
Shall ſtream in vengeance on my reeking blade.
At this they ceas'd; the ſtern debate expir'd:
The chiefs in ſullen majeſty retir'd.
Achilles with *Patroclus* took his way,
Where near his tents his hollow veſſels lay.
Mean time *Atrides* launch'd with num'rous oars
A well-rigg'd ſhip for *Chryſa*'s ſacred ſhores:
High on the deck was fair *Chryſeïs* plac'd,
And ſage *Ulyſſes* with the conduct grac'd:

v. 943—— *No more* Achilles *draws*
His conqu'ring ſword in any woman's cauſe.]
When *Achilles* promiſes, nor to conteſt for *Briſeïs*, he expreſſes in a ſharp deſpiſing air, *I will not fight for the ſake of a woman:* by which he glances at *Helena*, and caſts an oblique reflexion upon thoſe commanders whom he is about to leave the ſiege for her cauſe. One may obſerve how well it is concey'd of the Poet, to make one woman the ground of a quarrel which breaks an alliance that was only form'd upon account of another: and how much the circumſtance thus conſider'd contributes to keep up the anger of *Achilles*, for carrying on the Poem beyond this diſſolution of the council. For (as he himſelf argues with *Ulyſſes* in the 9th *Iliad*) it is as reaſonable for him to retain his anger upon the account of *Briſeïs*, as for the brothers with all *Greece* to carry on a war upon the score of *Helena*. I do not know that any commentator has taken notice of this ſarcaſm of *Achilles*, which I think a very obvious one.

Safe in her ſides the hecatomb they ſtow'd,
Then ſwiftly ſailing, cut the liquid road.
The hoſt to expiate, next the King prepares,
With pure luſtrations, and with ſolemn pray'rs,
Waſh'd by the briny wave, the pious train
Are cleans'd, and caſt th' ablutions in the main.
Along the ſhore whole hecatombs were laid,
And bulls and goats to *Phœbus'* altars paid.
The ſable fumes in curling ſpires ariſe,
And waft their grateful odours to the ſkies.
The army thus in ſacred rites engag'd.
Atrides ſtill with deep reſentment rag'd.
To wait his will two ſacred heralds ſtood,
Talthybius and *Eurybates* the good.
Haſte to the fierce *Achilles'* tent (he cries)
Thence bear *Briſeïs* as our royal prize:

℣. 413. *Th' ablutions.*] All our former *Engliſh* tranſlations ſeem to have err'd in the ſenſe of this line; the word λύμαθ being differently render'd by them, *offals*, or *entrails*, or *purgaments*, or *ordures*, a groſs ſett of ideas, of which *Homer* is not guilty. The word comes from λύω, *eluo*, the ſame verb from whence ἀπολυμαίνονθο, which precedes in the line, is deriv'd. So that the ſenſe appears to be as it is render'd here [They waſh'd, *and threw away their* waſhings.] Perhaps this luſtration might be uſed as a phyſical remedy in cleanſing them from the infection of the plague: as *Pauſanias* tells us it was by the *Arcadians*, from whence he ſays the plague was called λοιμὸς by the *Greeks*.

Submit he muſt; or if they will not part,
Our ſelf in arms ſhall tear her from his heart.
Th' unwilling heralds act their lord's commands;
Penſive thy walk along the barren ſands:
Arriv'd, the Heroe in his tent they find,
With gloomy aſpect, on his arm reclin'd.
At awful diſtance long they ſilent ſtand,
Loth to advance, or ſpeak their hard command;
Decent confuſion! This the Godlike man
Perceiv'd, and thus with accent mild began.
With leave and honour enter our abodes,
Ye ſacred miniſters of men and Gods!
I know your meſſage; by conſtraint you came;
Not you, but your imperious lord I blame.

℣. 430. *At awful diſtance ſilent.*] There was requir'd a very remarkable management to preſerve all the characters which are concern'd in this nice conjuncture, wherein the heralds were to obey at their peril; *Agamemnon* was to be gratify'd by an inſult on *Achilles*; and *Achilles* was to ſuffer ſo as might become his pride, and not have his violent temper provok'd. From all this the Poet has found the ſecret to extricate himſelf, by only taking care to make his heralds ſtand in ſight, and ſilent. Thus they neither make *Agamemnon*'s majeſty ſuffer by uttering their meſſage ſubmiſſively, nor occaſion a rough treatment from *Achilles* by demanding *Briſeïs* in the peremptory air he order'd; and at the ſame time *Achilles* is gratify'd with the opportunity of giving her up, as if he rather ſent her than was forc'd to relinquiſh her. The art of this has been taken notice of by *Euſtathius*.

Patroclus haſte, the fair *Briſeïs* bring;
Conduct my captive to the haughty King.
But witneſs, heralds, and proclaim my vow,
Witneſs to Gods above, and men below!
But firſt, and loudeſt, to your Prince declare,
That lawleſs tyrant whoſe commands you bear;
Unmov'd as death *Achilles* ſhall remain,
Tho' proſtrate *Greece* ſhould bleed at ev'ry vein:
The raging Chief in frantick paſſion loſt,
Blind to himſelf, and uſeleſs to his hoſt,
Unſkill'd to judge the future by the paſt,
In blood and ſlaughter ſhall repent at laſt.
Patroclus now th' unwilling beauty brought;
She, in ſoft ſorrows, and in penſive thought,
Paſt ſilent, as the heralds held her hand,
And oft look'd back, ſlow-moving o'er the ſtrand.

¶. 451. *She in ſoft ſorrows.*] The behaviour of *Briſeïs* in her departure is no leſs beautifully imagin'd than the former. A *French* or *Italian* Poet had laviſh'd all his wit and paſſion in two long ſpeeches on this occaſion, which the heralds muſt have wept to hear; inſtead of which *Homer* gives us a fine picture of nature. We ſee *Briſeïs* paſſing unwillingly along, with a dejected air, melted in tenderneſs, and not able to utter a word: And in the lines immediately following, we have a *contraſte* to this in the gloomy reſentment of *Achilles*, who ſuddenly retires to the ſhore and vents his rage aloud to the ſeas. The variation of the numbers juſt in this place adds a great beauty to it, which has been endeavour'd at in the tranſlation.

Not

Not ſo his loſs the fierce *Achilles* bore;
But ſad retiring to the ſounding ſhore,
O'er the wild margin of the deep he hung,
That kindred deep, from whence his mother ſprung.
There, bath'd in tears of anger and diſdain,
Thus loud lamented to the ſtormy main.

O parent Goddeſs! ſince in early bloom
Thy ſon muſt fall, by too ſevere a doom;
Sure, to ſo ſhort a race of glory born,
Great *Jove* in juſtice ſhould this ſpan adorn:
Honour and fame at leaſt the Thund'rer ow'd,
And ill he pays the promiſe of a God;

If

℣. 458. *There, bath'd in tears.*] *Euſtathius* obſerves on this place that it is no weakneſs in Heroes to weep, but the very effect of humanity and proof of a generous temper; for which he offers ſeveral inſtances, and takes notice that if *Sophocles* would not let *Ajax* weep, it is becauſe he is drawn rather as a madman than a heroe. But this general obſervation is not all we can offer in excuſe for the tears of *Achilles*: His are tears of anger and diſdain (as I have ventur'd to call them in the Tranſlation) of which a great and fiery temper is more ſuſceptible than any other; and even in this caſe *Homer* has taken care to preſerve the high character, by making him retire to vent his tears out of ſight. And we may add to theſe an obſervation of which Madam *Dacier* is fond, the reaſon why *Agamemnon* parts not in tears from *Chryſeis*, and *Achilles* does from *Briſeis*: The one parts willingly from his miſtreſs; and becauſe he does it for his people's ſafety it becomes an honour to him: the other is parted unwillingly, and becauſe his General takes her by force, the action reflects a diſhonour upon him.

℣. 464. *The Thund'rer ow'd.*] This alludes to a ſtory which

If yon proud Monarch thus thy ſon defies,
Obſcures my glories, and reſumes my prize,
Far in the deep receſſes of the main,
Where aged *Ocean* holds his wat'ry reign,
The Goddeſs-mother heard. The waves divide;
And like a miſt ſhe roſe above the tide;
Beheld him mourning on the naked ſhores,
And thus the ſorrows of his ſoul explores.
Why grieves my ſon? Thy anguiſh let me ſhare,
Reveal the cauſe, and truſt a parent's care.
He deeply ſighing ſaid: To tell my woe,
Is but to mention what too well you know.

Achilles tells the embaſſadors of *Agamemnon*, *H.* 9. That he had the choice of two fates; one leſs glorious at home, but bleſſed with a very long life; the other full of glory at *Troy*, but then he was never to return. The alternative being thus propos'd to him (not from *Jupiter* but *Thetis* who reveal'd the decree) he choſe the latter, which he looks upon as his due, ſince he gives away length of life for it: and accordingly when he complains to his mother of the diſgrace he lies under, it is in this manner he makes a demand of honour.

Monſ. *de la Motte* very judiciouſly obſerves, that but for this fore-knowledge of the certainty of his death at *Troy*, *Achilles*'s character could have drawn but little eſteem from the reader. A heroe of a vicious mind, bleſt only with a ſuperiority of ſtrength, and invulnerable into the bargain, was not very proper to excite admiration; but *Homer* by this exquiſite piece of art has made him the greateſt of heroes, who is ſtill purſuing glory in contempt of death, and even under that certainty generouſly devoting himſelf in every action.

From

From *Thebe* ſacred to *Apollo*'s name,
(*Aëtion*'s realm) our conqu'ring army came,
With treaſure loaded and triumphant ſpoils,
Whoſe juſt diviſion crown'd the ſoldier's toils;

¥. 478. *From* Thebè.] *Homer*, who open'd his poem with the action which immediately brought on *Achilles*'s anger, being now to give an account of the ſame thing again, takes his riſe more backward in the ſtory. Thus the reader is inform'd in what he ſhould know, without having been delay'd from entering upon the promis'd ſubject. This is the firſt attempt which we ſee made towards the poetical method of narration, which differs from the hiſtorical; in that it does not proceed always directly in the line of time, but ſometimes relates things which have gone before, when a more proper opportunity demands it, to make the narration more informing or beautiful.

The foregoing remark is in regard only to the firſt ſix lines of this ſpeech. What follows is a rehearſal of the preceding action of the poem, almoſt in the ſame words he had uſed in the opening it; and is one of thoſe faults which has with moſt juſtice been objected to our Author. It is not to be deny'd but the account muſt be tedious, of what the reader had been juſt before inform'd: and eſpecially when we are given to underſtand it was no way neceſſary, by what *Achilles* ſays at the beginning, that *Thetis knew the whole ſtory already*. As to repeating the ſame lines, a practice uſual with *Homer*, it is not ſo excuſable in this place as in thoſe, where meſſages are deliver'd in the words they were receiv'd, or the like; it being unnatural to imagine, that the perſon whom the Poet introduces as actually ſpeaking, ſhould fall into the ſelf-ſame words that are us'd in the narration by the Poet himſelf. Yet *Milton* was ſo great an admirer and imitator of our author, as not to have ſcrupled even this kind of repetition. The paſſage is at the end of his tenth book, where *Adam* having declar'd he would proſtrate himſelf before God in certain particular acts of humiliation, thoſe acts are immediately after deſcrib'd by the Poet in the ſame words.

But bright *Chryſeïs*, heav'nly prize! was led
By vote ſelected, to the Gen'rals bed.
The prieſt of *Phœbus* ſought by gifts to gain.
His beauteous daughter from the victor's chain;
The fleet he reach'd, and lowly bending down,
Held forth the ſceptre and the laurel crown,
Entreating all: but chief implor'd for grace
The brother Kings of *Atreus* royal race:
The gen'rous *Greeks* their joint conſent declare,
The prieſt to rev'rence, and releaſe the fair;
Not ſo *Atrides:* He, with wonted pride,
The ſire inſulted, and his gifts deny'd:
Th' inſulted ſire (his God's peculiar care)
To *Phœbus* pray'd, and *Phœbus* heard the pray'r:
A dreadful plague enſues; Th' avenging darts
Inceſſant fly, and pierce the *Grecian* hearts.
A prophet then, inſpir'd by heav'n aroſe,
And points the crime, and thence derives the woe:
My ſelf the firſt th' aſſembled chiefs incline
T' avert the vengeance of the pow'r divine;
Then riſing in his wrath, the Monarch ſtorm'd;
Incens'd he threaten'd, and his threats perform'd:
The fair *Chryſeïs* to her ſire was ſent,
With offer'd gifts to make the Go drelen;

But now he ſeiz'd *Briſeïs'* heav'nly charms,
And of my valour's prize defrauds my arms,
Defrauds the votes of all the *Grecian* train;
And ſervice, faith, and juſtice plead in vain.
But Goddeſs! thou, thy ſuppliant ſon attend,
To high *Olympus'* ſhining court aſcend,
Urge all the ties to former ſervice ow'd,
And ſue for vengeance to the thund'ring God.
Oft haſt thou triumph'd in the glorious boaſt,
That thou ſtood'ſt forth, of all th' æthereal hoſt,

When

℣. 514. *Oft haſt thou triumph'd.*] The perſuaſive which *Achilles* is here made to put into the mouth of *Thetis*, is moſt artfully contriv'd to ſuit the preſent exigency. You, ſays he, muſt intreat *Jupiter* to bring miſeries on the *Greeks*, who are protected by *Juno*, *Neptune*, and *Minerva*: Put him therefore in mind that thoſe Deities were once his enemies, and adjure him by that ſervice you did him when thoſe very powers would have bound him, that he will now in his turn aſſiſt you againſt the endeavours they will oppoſe to my wiſhes. *Euſtathius.*

As for the ſtory itſelf, ſome have thought (with whom is Madam *Dacier*) that there was ſome imperfect tradition of the fall of the Angels for their rebellion, which the *Greeks* had receiv'd by commerce with *Ægypt*: and thus they account the rebellion of the Gods, the precipitation of *Vulcan* from heaven, and *Jove's* threatning the inferior Gods with *Tartarus* but as ſo many hints of ſcripture faintly imitated. But it ſeems not improbable that the wars of the Gods, deſcribed by the Poets, allude to the confuſion of the elements before they were brought into their natural order. It is almoſt generally agreed that by *Jupiter* is meant the *Æther*, and by *Juno* the *Air*: The ancient Philoſophers ſuppos'd the *Æther* to be ingeous, by by its kind influence upon the *Air* to be the

When bold rebellion ſhook the realms above,
Th' undaunted guard of cloud-compelling *Jove*.
When the bright partner of his awful reign,
The warlike maid, and monarch of the main,
The Traytor-Gods, by mad ambition driv'n,
Durſt threat with chains th' omnipotence of heav'n.
Then call'd by thee, the monſter *Titan* came,
(Whom Gods *Briareus*, Men *Ægeon* name)
Thro' wondring ſkies enormous ſtalk'd along;
Not * he that ſhakes the ſolid earth ſo ſtrong:
* *Neptune.* With giant-pride at *Jove*'s high throne he ſtands,
And brandiſh'd round him all his hundred hands;
Th' affrighted Gods confeſs'd their awful lord,
They dropt the fetters, trembled and ador'd.

cauſe of all vegetation: Therefore *Homer* ſays in the 14th *Iliad*, That upon *Jupiter*'s embracing his wife, the earth put forth its plants. Perhaps by *Thetis*'s aſſiſting *Jupiter*, may be meant that the watry element ſubſiding and taking its natural place, put an end to this combat of the elements.

v. 523. *Whom Gods* Briareus, *Men* Ægeon *name.*] This manner of making the Gods ſpeak a language different from men (which is frequent in *Homer*) is a circumſtance that as far as it widens the diſtinction between divine and human natures, ſo far might tend to heighten the reverence paid the Gods. But beſides this, as the difference is thus told in Poetry, it is of uſe to the Poets themſelves: For it appears like a kind of teſtimony of their inſpiration, or their converſe with the Gods, and thereby gives a majeſty to their works.

This,

This, Goddeſs, this to his remembrance call,
Embrace his knees, at his tribunal fall;
Conjure him far to drive the *Grecian* train,
To hurl them headlong to their fleet and main,
To heap the ſhores with copious death, and bring
The *Greeks* to know the curſe of ſuch a King:
Let *Agamemnon* lift his haughty head
O'er all his wide dominion of the dead,
And mourn in blood, that e'er he durſt diſgrace
The boldeſt warrior of the *Grecian* race.

Unhappy ſon! (fair *Thetis* thus replies,
While tears celeſtial trickle from her eyes)
Why have I born thee with a mother's throes,
To fates averſe, and nurs'd for future woes?
So ſhort a ſpace the light of heav'n to view!
So ſhort a ſpace! and fill'd with ſorrow too!
O might a parent's careful wiſh prevail,
Far, far from *Ilion* ſhould thy veſſels ſail,
And thou, from camps remote, the danger ſhun,
Which now, alas! too nearly threats my ſon.
Yet (what I can) to move thy ſuit I'll go,
To great *Olympus* crown'd with fleecy ſnow.
Mean time, ſecure within thy ſhips from far
Behold the field, nor mingle in the war.

The Sire of Gods, and all th' ætherial train,
On the warm limits of the fartheſt main,
Now mix with mortals, nor diſdain to grace
The Feaſts of *Æthiopia*'s blameleſs race:

℣. 557. *The feaſts of* Æthiopia's *blameleſs race.*] The *Æthiopians*, ſays *Diodorus*, *lib.* 3. are ſaid to be the inventors of pomps, ſacrifices, ſolemn meetings, and other honours paid to the Gods. From hence aroſe their character of piety, which is here celebrated by *Homer*. Among theſe there was an annual feaſt at *Dioſpolis*, which *Euſtathius* mentions, wherein they carry'd about the ſtatues of *Jupiter* and the other Gods, for twelve days, according to their number; to which if we add the ancient cuſtom of ſetting meat before ſtatues, it will appear a rite from which this fable might eaſily ariſe. But it would be a great miſtake to imagine from this place, that *Homer* repreſents the Gods as eating and drinking upon earth: a groſs notion he was never guilty of, as appears from theſe verſes in the fifth book. ℣. 340.

Ἰχῶρ, οἷός τε ῥέει μακάρεσσι θεοῖσιν.
Οὐ γὰρ σῖτον ἔδουσ', οὐ πίνουσ' αἴθοπα οἶνον,
Τοὔνεκ' ἀναίμονές εἰσι, καὶ ἀθάνατοι καλέονται.

(*For not the bread of man their life ſuſtains,*
Nor wine's inflaming juice ſupplies their veins.)

Macrobius would have it, that by *Jupiter* here is meant the *ſun*, and that the number *twelve* hints at the twelve *ſigns*; but whatever may be ſaid in a critical defence of this opinion, I believe the reader will be ſatisfy'd that *Homer*, conſider'd as a Poet, would have his machinary underſtood upon that ſyſtem of the Gods which is properly *Grecian*.

One may take notice here, that it were to be wiſh'd ſome paſſage were found in any authentic author, that might tell us the time of the year when the *Æthiopians* kept this feſtival at *Dioſpolis*: For from thence one might determine the preciſe ſeaſon of the year wherein the actions of the *Iliad* are repreſented to have happen'd; and perhaps by that means farther explain the beauty and propriety of many paſſages in the Poem.

Twelve

Twelve days the pow'rs indulge the genial rite,
Returning with the twelfth revolving light.
Then will I mount the brazen dome, and move
The high tribunal of immortal *Jove.*
The Goddeſs ſpoke: The rolling waves uncloſe;
Then down the deep ſhe plung'd from whence ſhe roſe,
And left him ſorrowing on the lonely coaſt,
In wild reſentment for the fair he loſt.
In *Chryſa's* port now ſage *Ulyſſes* rode;
Beneath the deck the deſtin'd victims ſtow'd:
The ſails they furl'd, they laſh'd the maſt aſide,
And dropt their anchors, and the pinnace ty'd.
Next on the ſhore their hecatomb they land,
Chryſeïs laſt deſcending on the ſtrand.
Her, thus returning from the furrow'd main,
Ulyſſes led to *Phœbus* ſacred fane;
Where at his ſolemn altar, as the maid
He gave to *Chryſes,* thus the Heroe ſaid.
Hail rev'rend prieſt! to *Phœbus'* awful dome
A ſuppliant I from great *Atrides* come:
Unranſom'd here receive the ſpotleſs fair;
Accept the hecatomb the *Greeks* prepare;
And may thy God who ſcatters darts around,
Aton'd by ſacrifice, deſiſt to wound.

At this, the Sire embrac'd the maid again,
So ſadly loſt, ſo lately fought in vain.
Then near the altar of the darting King,
Diſpos'd in rank their hecatomb they bring:
With water purify their hands, and take
The ſacred off'ring of the ſalted cake;
While thus with arms devoutly rais'd in air,
And ſolemn voice, the Prieſt directs his pray'r.
God of the ſilver bow, thy ear incline,
Whoſe pow'r encircles *Cilla* the divine;
Whoſe ſacred eye thy *Tenedos* ſurveys,
And gilds fair *Chryſa* with diſtinguiſh'd rays!
If, fir'd to vengeance at thy prieſt's requeſt,
Thy direful darts inflict the raging peſt;
Once more attend! avert the waſtful woe,
And ſmile propitious, and unbend thy bow.
So *Chryſes* pray'd, *Apollo* heard his pray'r;
And now the *Greeks* their hecatomb prepare;
Between their horns the ſalted barley threw,
And with their heads to heav'n the victims ſlew:

Th

℣. 600. *The Sacrifice*] If we conſider this paſſage, it is no made to ſhine in poetry: All that can be done is to give numbers, and endeavour to ſet the particulars in a diſtinct view. But if we take it in another light, and as a piece of learning

The limbs they ſever from th' incloſing hide;
The thighs, ſelected to the Gods, divide:
On theſe, in double cawls involv'd with art,
The choiceſt morſels lay from ev'ry part.
The Prieſt himſelf before his altar ſtands,
And burns the off'ring with his holy hands,

learning, it is valuable for being the moſt exact account of the ancient ſacrifices any where left us. There is firſt the purification, by waſhing of hands: Secondly the offering up of Prayers: Thirdly the *Mola*, or barley cakes thrown upon the victim: Fourthly the manner of killing it with the head turn'd upwards to the celeſtial Gods (as they turn'd it downwards when they offer'd to the infernals:) Fifthly their ſelecting the thighs and fat for their Gods as the beſt of the ſacrifice, and the diſpoſing about them pieces cut from every part for a repreſentation of the whole; (hence the thighs, as μηρία, are frequently us'd in *Homer* and the *Greek* Poets for the whole victim:) Sixthly the libation of wine: Seventhly conſuming the thighs in the fire of the altar: Eighthly the ſacrificers dreſſing and feaſting on the reſt, with joy and hymns to the Gods. Thus punctually have the ancient Poets, and in particular *Homer*, written with a care and reſpect to religion. One may queſtion whether any countrey, as much a ſtranger to chriſtianity as we are to heatheniſm, might be ſo well inform'd by our Poets in the worſhip belonging to any profeſſion of religion at preſent.

I am obliged to take notice how entirely Mr. *Dryden* has miſtaken the ſenſe of this paſſage, and the cuſtom of antiquity; for in his tranſlation, the cakes are thrown into the fire inſtead of being caſt on the victim; the ſacrificers are made to eat the thighs and whatever belong'd to the Gods; and, no part of the victim is conſum'd for a burnt offering, ſo that in effect there is no ſacrifice at all. Some of the miſtakes (particularly that of *turning the roaſt-meat on the ſpits* which was not known in *Homer*'s days) he was led into by *Chapman*'s tranſlation.

Pours

Pours the black wine, and ſees the flames aſpire;
The youth with inſtruments ſurround the fire:
The thighs thus ſacrific'd, and entrails dreſt,
Th' aſſiſtants part, transfix, and roaſt the reſt:
Then ſpread the tables, the repaſt prepare,
Each takes his ſeat, and each receives his ſhare.
When now the rage of hunger was repreſt,
With pure libations they conclude the feaſt;
The youths with wine the copious goblets crown
And pleas'd, diſpenſe the flowing bowls around.
With hymns divine the joyous banquet ends,
The *Peans* lengthen'd 'till the ſun deſcends:
The *Greeks* reſtor'd, the grateful notes prolong;
Apollo liſtens, and approves the ſong.
'Twas night; the Chiefs beſide their veſſel lie,
'Till roſie morn had purpled o'er the ſky:
Then launch, and hoiſe the maſt; indulgent gales
Supply'd by *Phœbus*, fill the ſwelling ſails;
The milk-white canvas bellying as they blow,
The parted ocean foams and roars below:
Above the bounding billows ſwift they flew,
'Till now the *Grecian* camp appear'd in view.
Far on the beach they haul their bark to land,
(The crooked keel divides the yellow ſand)

Then part, where ſtretch'd along the winding bay
The ſhips and tents in mingled proſpect lay.
But raging ſtill amidſt his navy ſate
The ſtern *Achilles*, ſtedfaſt in his hate;
Nor mix'd in combate, nor in council join'd;
But waſting cares lay heavy on his mind:
In his black thoughts revenge and ſlaughter roll,
And ſcenes of blood riſe dreadful in his ſoul.
Twelve days were paſt, and now the dawning light
The Gods had ſummon'd to th' *Olympian* height:
Jove firſt aſcending from the wat'ry bow'rs,
Leads the long order of æthereal pow'rs.
When like a morning miſt, in early day,
Roſe from the flood the daughter of the ſea;
And to the ſeats divine her flight addreſt.
There, far apart, and high above the reſt,
The Thund'rer ſate; where old *Olympus* ſhrouds
His hundred heads in Heav'n, and props the clouds.
Suppliant the Goddeſs ſtood: One hand ſhe plac'd
Beneath his beard, and one his knees embrac'd.
If e'er, O father of the Gods! ſhe ſaid,
My words cou'd pleaſe thee, or my actions aid;
Some marks of honour on my ſon beſtow,
And pay in glory what in life you owe.

Fame

Fame is at leaſt by heav'nly promiſe due
To life ſo ſhort, and now diſhonour'd too.
Avenge this wrong, oh ever juſt and wiſe!
Let *Greece* be humbled, and the *Trojans* riſe;
'Till the proud King, and all th' *Achaian* race
Shall heap with honours him they now diſgrace.
This *Thetis* ſpoke, but *Jove* in ſilence held
The ſacred councils of his breaſt conceal'd.
Not ſo repuls'd, the Goddeſs cloſer preſt,
Still graſp'd his knees, and urg'd the dear requeſt.
O Sire of Gods and Men! thy ſuppliant hear,
Refuſe, or grant; for what has *Jove* to fear?
Or oh! declare, of all the pow'rs above
Is wretched *Thetis* leaſt the care of *Jove*?
She ſaid, and ſighing thus the God replies,
Who rolls the thunder o'er the vaulted ſkies.
What haſt thou aſk'd? Ah why ſhould *Jove* engage
In foreign conteſts, and domeſtick rage,
The Gods complaints, and *Juno*'s fierce alarms,
While I, too partial, aid the *Trojan* arms?
Go, leſt the haughty partner of my ſway
With jealous eyes thy cloſe acceſs ſurvey;
But part in peace, ſecure thy pray'r is ſped:
Witneſs the ſacred honours of our head,

he Nod that ratifies the will divine,
he faithful, fix'd, irrevocable ſign;
his ſeals thy ſuit, and this fulfils thy vows—
e ſpoke, and awful bends his ſable brows;
akes his ambroſial curls, and gives the nod;
he ſtamp of fate, and ſanction of the God:

. 681. *The faithful, fix'd, irrevocable ſign.*] There are among n three things by which the efficacy of a promiſe may be de void; the deſign not to perform it, the want of power bring it to paſs, and the inſtability of our tempers; from which *Homer* ſaw that the divinity muſt be exempted, and erefore he deſcribes the *nod*, or ratification of *Jupiter*'s rd, as *faithful*, in oppoſition to *fraud*, *ſure* of being per-m'd, in oppoſition to *weakneſs*, and *irrevocable*, in oppoſition our *repenting* of a promiſe. *Euſtathius.*

. 683. *He ſpoke, and awful bends.*] This deſcription of the ajeſty of *Jupiter* has ſomething exceedingly grand and ve-rable. *Macrobius* reports, that *Phidias* having made his *O-pian Jupiter*, which paſt for one of the greateſt miracles an, was ask'd from what pattern he fram'd ſo divine a ure, and anſwer'd, it was from that archetype which he nd in theſe lines of *Homer*. The ſame author has alſo ta-n notice of *Virgil*'s imitating it, *l.* 1.

Dixerat, idque ratum Stygii per flumina fratris,
Per pice torrentes atraque voragine ripas;
Annuit, & totum nutu tremefecit Olympum.

re indeed he has preſerv'd the *nod* with its ſtupendous ef-t, the making the heavens tremble. But he has neglect-the deſcription of the eye-brows and the hair, thoſe chief ces of imagery from whence the artiſt took the idea of a ntenance proper for the King of Gods and Men. Thus far *Macrobius*, whom *Scaliger* anſwers in this manner; *t ludunt Phidiam, aut nos ludit Phidias: Etiam ſine* Homero illum ſciſſe, *Jovem non carere ſupercilio & caſarie.*

High

High Heav'n with trembling the dread ſignal took,
And all *Olympus* to the centre ſhook.
Swift to the ſeas profound the Goddeſs flies
Jove to his ſtarry manſion in the ſkies.
The ſhining ſynod of th' immortals wait
The coming God, and from their thrones of ſtate
Ariſing ſilent, wrapt in holy fear,
Before the Majeſty of Heav'n appear.
Trembling they ſtand, while *Jove* aſſumes the thro
All, but the God's imperious Queen alone;
Late had ſhe view'd the ſilver-footed dame,
And all her paſſions kindled into flame.
Say, artful manager of heav'n (ſhe cries)
Who now partakes the ſecrets of the ſkies?

℣. 694. Jove *aſſumes the throne.*] As *Homer* makes the
council of his men to be one continu'd ſcene of anger, wh
by the *Grecian* chiefs became divided, ſo he makes the
meeting of the Gods to be ſpent in the ſame paſſion; wh
by *Jupiter* is more fix'd to aſſiſt the *Trojans*, and *Juno*
incens'd againſt them. Thus the deſign of the Poem
on: The anger which began the book overſpreads all exi
beings by the latter end of it: Heaven and earth bec
engag'd in the ſubject, by which it riſes to a great im
tance in the reader's eyes, and is haſten'd forward into
briskeſt ſcenes of action that can be fram'd upon that vio
paſſion.

℣. 698. *Say, artful manager.*] The Gods and Goddeſſes b
deſcrib'd with all the deſires and pleaſures, the paſſions
humours of mankind, the commentators have taken

hy *Juno* knows not the decrees of fate,
vain the partner of imperial ſtate.
hat fav'rite Goddeſs then thoſe cares divides,
hich *Jove* in prudence from his conſort hides?

ce from thence to draw not only moral obſervations, but
o ſatyrical reflections out of this part of the Poet. Theſe
m ſorry to ſee fall ſo hard upon womankind, and all by
e's means. Sometimes ſhe procures them a leſſon for their
ioſity and unquietneſs, and at other times for their loud
l vexatious tempers: *Juno* deſerves them on the one hand,
iter thunders them out on the other, and the learned gen-
men are very particular in enlarging with remarks on both
es. In her firſt ſpeech they make the Poet deſcribe the in-
ſitive temper of womankind in general, and their reſtleſ-
s if they are not admitted into every ſecret. In his an-
r to this, they trace thoſe methods of grave remonſtrance
which it is proper for husbands to calm them. In her-
ly, they find it is in the nature of women to be more obſti-
e for being yielded to; And in his ſecond return to her,
y ſee the laſt method to be uſed with them upon failure of
firſt, which is the exerciſe of ſovereign authority.

Mr. *Dryden* has tranſlated all this with the utmoſt ſeverity
n the Ladies, and ſpirited the whole with ſatyrical addi-
ns of his own. But Madam *Dacier* (who has elſewhere
madverted upon the good Biſhop of *Theſſalonica*, for his
e admonitions againſt the fair ſex) has not taken the leaſt
ice of this general defection from complaiſance in all the
mmentators. She ſeems willing to give the whole paſſage
nore important turn, and incline us to think that *Homer*
gn'd to repreſent the folly and danger of prying into the
ets of providence. 'Tis thrown into that air in this tran-
ion, not only as it is more noble and inſtructive in gene-
but as it is more reſpectful to the Ladies in particular;
ſhould we (any more than Madam *Dacier*) have menti-
d what thoſe old fellows have ſaid, but to deſire their pro-
ion againſt ſome modern criticks their diſciples, who may
ign this proceeding.

To

To this the Thund'rer: Seek not thou to find
The ſacred counſels of almighty mind:
Involv'd in darkneſs lies the great decree,
Nor can the depths of fate be pierc'd by thee.
What fits thy knowledge, thou the firſt ſhalt know;
The firſt of Gods above, and Men below:
But thou, nor they, ſhall ſearch the thoughts that rol
Deep in the cloſe receſſes of my ſoul.
Full on the Sire the Goddeſs of the ſkies
Roll'd the large orbs of her majeſtic eyes,
And thus return'd. Auſtere *Saturnius*, ſay,
From whence this wrath, or who controuls thy ſway
Thy boundleſs will, for me, remains in force,
And all thy counſels take the deſtin'd courſe.
But 'tis for *Greece* I fear: For late was ſeen
In cloſe conſult, the ſilver-footed Queen.
Jove to his *Thetis* nothing could deny,
Nor was the ſignal vain that ſhook the ſky.

℣. 713. *Roll'd the large Orbs.*] The *Greek* is Βοῶπις πότνια Ἥρη, which is commonly tranſlated *the venerable ox-ey'd* Madam *Dacier* very well obſerves that βοῶ is only an augmentative particle, and ſignifies no more than *valde*. It may be added, that the imagination that oxen have larger eyes than ordinary is ill-grounded, and has no foundation in truth: their eyes are no larger in proportion than thoſe of men, and of moſt other animals. But be it as it will, the deſign of the Poet, which is only to expreſs the largeneſs of her eyes, is anſwer'd in the paraphraſe.

What fatal favour has the Goddeſs won,
o grace her fierce, inexorable ſon?
erhaps in *Grecian* blood to drench the plain,
nd glut his vengeance with my people ſlain.
Then thus the God: Oh reſtleſs fate of pride,
hat ſtrives to learn what heav'n reſolves to hide;
ain is the ſearch, preſumptuous and abhorr'd,
nxious to thee, and odious to thy Lord.
et this ſuffice; th' immutable decree
o force can ſhake: What *is*, that *ought* to be.
oddeſs ſubmit, nor dare our will withſtand,
t dread the pow'r of this avenging hand;
h' united ſtrength of all the Gods above
vain reſiſts th' omnipotence of *Jove*.
The Thund'rer ſpoke, nor durſt the Queen reply;
rev'rend horror ſilenc'd all the ſky.
he feaſt diſturb'd, with ſorrow *Vulcan* ſaw,
s mother menac'd, and the Gods in awe;
ace at his heart, and pleaſure his deſign,
us interpos'd the Architect divine.

The

. 747. *Thus interpos'd the Architect divine*] This quarrel of Gods being come to its height, the Poet makes *Vulcan* erpoſe, who freely puts them in mind of pleaſure, inoffen-ly adviſes *Juno*, illuſtrates his advice by an example of his own

The wretched quarrels of the mortal ſtate
Are far unworthy, Gods! of your debate:
Let men their days in ſenſeleſs ſtrife employ,
We, in eternal peace, and conſtant joy.
Thou, goddeſs-mother, with our ſire comply,
Nor break the ſacred union of the ſky:
Leſt, rouz'd to rage, he ſhake the bleſt abodes,
Launch the red lightning, and dethrone the gods
If you ſubmit, the thund'rer ſtands appeas'd;
The gracious pow'r is willing to be pleas'd.
Thus *Vulcan* ſpoke: and riſing with a bound,
The double bowl with ſparkling *Nectar* crown'd,
Which held to *Juno* in a chearful way,
Goddeſs (he cry'd) be patient and obey.
Dear as you are, if *Jove* his arm extend,
I can but grieve, unable to defend.

own misfortune, turning the jeſt on himſelf to enliven the banquet; and concludes the part he is to ſupport with ſo ing *Nectar* about. *Homer* had here his *Minerva* or *Wiſdom* interpoſe again, and every other quality of the mind rep in Heaven under the appearance of ſome Deity: So that introducing *Vulcan*, proceeded not from a want of che but an inſight into nature. He knew that a friend to m often diverts or ſtops quarrels, eſpecially when he contr to ſubmit himſelf to the laugh, and prevails on the angry part in good humour, or in a diſpoſition to friendſhip; w grave repreſentations are ſometimes reproaches, ſometi lengthen the debate by occaſioning defences, and ſometi introduce new parties into the conſequences of it.

What God ſo daring in your aid to move,
Or lift his hand againſt the force of *Jove?*
Once in your cauſe I felt his matchleſs might,
Hurl'd headlong downward from th' etherial height;
Toſt all the day in rapid circles round;
Nor till the Sun deſcended, touch'd the ground:
Breathleſs I fell, in giddy motion loſt;
The *Sinthians* rais'd me on the *Lemnian* coaſt.
He ſaid, and to her hands the goblet heav'd,
Which, with a ſmile, the white-arm'd Queen receiv'd.
Then to the reſt he fill'd; and, in his turn,
Each to his lips apply'd the nectar'd urn.

℣. 760. *Once in your cauſe I felt his matchleſs might*] They who ſearch another vein of allegory for hidden knowledge in natural Philoſophy, have conſider'd *Jupiter* and *Juno* as *Heaven* and the *Air*, whoſe alliance is interrupted when the air is troubled above, but reſtor'd again when it is clear'd by heat, or *Vulcan* the God of Heat. Him they call a divine artificer, from the activity or general uſe of fire in working. They ſuppoſe him to be born in Heaven, where Philoſophers ſay that element has its proper place: and is thence deriv'd to the earth, which is ſignify'd by the fall of *Vulcan*; that he fell in *Lemnos*, becauſe that Iſland abounds with ſubterranean fires; and that he contracted a lameneſs or imperfection by the fall; the fire not being ſo pure and active below, but mix'd and terreſtial. *Euſtathius.*

℣. 767. *Which with a ſmile the white-arm'd Queen receiv'd.*] The epithet λευκώλενος, or *white-arm'd*, is uſed by *Homer* ſeveral times before, in this book. This was the firſt paſſage where it could be introduc'd with any eaſe or grace; becauſe the action ſhe is here deſcrib'd in, of extending her arm to the cup, gives it an occaſion of diſplaying its beauties, and in a manner demands the epithet.

Vulcan with aukward grace his office plies,
And unextinguish'd laughter shakes the skies.
Thus the blest Gods the genial day prolong,
In feasts ambrosial, and celestial song.
Apollo tun'd the lyre; the Muses round
With voice alternate aid the silver sound.
Meantime the radiant Sun, to mortal sight
Descending swift, roll'd down the rapid light.
Then to their starry domes the Gods depart,
The shining monuments of *Vulcan*'s art:

℣. 771. *Laughter shakes the skies.*] *Vulcan* design'd to move laughter by taking upon him the office of *Hebe* and *Ganymede* with his aukward limping carriage. But tho' he prevail'd, and *Homer* tells you the Gods did laugh, yet he takes care not to mention a word of his lameness. It would have been cruel in him, and wit out of season, to have enlarg'd with derision upon an imperfection which is out of one's power to remedy. According to this good-natur'd opinion of *Eustathius*, Mr. *Dryden* has treated *Vulcan* a little barbarously. He makes his character perfectly comical; he is the jest of the board, and the Gods are very merry upon the imperfections of his figure. *Chapman* led him into this error in general, as well as into some indecencies of expression in particular, which will be seen upon comparing them.

For what concerns the laughter attributed here to the Gods, see the Notes on *lib.* 5. ℣. 517.

℣. 778. *Then to their starry Domes,*] The Astrologers assign twelve houses to the Planets, wherein they are said to have dominion. Now because *Homer* tells us *Vulcan* built a mansion for every God, the ancients write that he first gave occasion for this doctrine.

Jove on his couch reclin'd his awful head,
And *Juno* ſlumber'd on the golden bed.

ν. 780. Jove *on his couch reclin'd his awful head.*] *Euſtathius* makes a diſtinction between καθεύδειν and ὑπνοῦν; the words which are uſed at the end of this book and the beginning of the next, with regard to *Jupiter*'s ſleeping. He ſays καθεύδειν only means lying down in a diſpoſition to ſleep; which ſalves the contradiction that elſe would follow in the next book, where it is ſaid *Jupiter* did not ſleep. I only mention this to vindicate the tranſlation which differs from Mr. *Dryden*'s.

It has been remark'd by the ſcholiaſts, that this is the only book of the twenty four without any *ſimile*, a figure in which *Homer* abounds every where elſe. The like remark is made by Madam *Dacier* upon the firſt of the *Odyſſey*; and becauſe the Poet has obſerv'd the ſame conduct in both works, it is concluded he thought a ſimplicity of ſtyle, without the great figures, was proper during the firſt information of the reader. This obſervation may be true, and admits of refin'd reaſonings; but for my part I cannot think the book had been the worſe, tho' he had thrown in as many *ſimiles* as *Virgil* has in the firſt *Æneid*.

Jupiter resenting the affront done to Achilles, & espousing his Cause, while Juno's [illegible] deluding dream to Agamemnon, to excite him to [illegible] Battle to the Trojans.

a. 11

THE SECOND BOOK OF THE ILIAD.

The ARGUMENT.

The tryal of the army and catalogue of the forces.

JUPITER *in pursuance of the request of* Thetis, *sends a deceitful vision to* Agamemnon, *persuading him to lead the army to battel; in order to make the* Greeks *sensible of their want of* Achilles. *The General, who is deluded with the hopes of taking* Troy *without his assistance, but fears the army was discourag'd by his absence and the late plague, as well as by length of time, contrives to make trial of their disposition by a stratagem. He first communicates his design to the Princes in council, that he would propose a return to the soldiers, and that they should put a stop to them if the proposal was embrac'd. Then he assembles the whole host, and upon moving for a return to* Greece, *they unanimously agree to it, and run to prepare the ships. They are detain'd by the management of* Ulysses, *who chastises the insolence of* Thersites. *The Assembly is recall'd, several speeches made on the occasion, and at length the advice of* Nestor *follow'd, which was to make a general muster of the troops, and to divide them into their several nations, before they proceeded to battel. This gives occasion to the Poet to enumerate all the forces of the* Greeks *and* Trojans, *in a large catalogue.*

The time *employ'd in this book consists not entirely of one day. The* scene *lies in the* Grecian *camp and upon the sea-shore; toward the end it removes to* Troy.

THE

THE

SECOND BOOK

OF THE

ILIAD.

NOW pleaſing ſleep had ſeal'd each mortal eye,
Stretch'd in the tents the *Grecian* Leaders lie,
Th' immortals ſlumber'd on their thrones above;
All, but the ever-wakeful eyes of *Jove*.
To

℣. 1. *Now pleaſing ſleep*, &c.] *Ariſtotle* tells us in the twenty ſixth chapter of his art of poetry, that this place had been objected to by ſome criticks in thoſe times. They thought it gave a very ill idea of the military diſcipline of the *Greeks*, to repreſent a whole army unguarded, and all the Leaders aſleep: They alſo pretended it was ridiculous to deſcribe all

To honour *Thetis'* ſon he bends his care,
And plunge the *Greeks* in all the woes of war:
Then bids an empty Phantome riſe to fight,
And thus commands the *Viſion* of the night.

Fly hence, deluding *Dream!* and light as air,
To *Agamemnon*'s ample tent repair.

Bid

the Gods ſleeping beſides *Jupiter*. To both theſe *Ariſtotle* anſwers, that nothing is more uſual or allowable than that figure which puts *all* for the *greater part*. One may add with reſpect to the latter Criticiſm, that nothing could give a better image of the ſuperiority of *Jupiter* to the other Gods (or of the ſupreme Being to all ſecond cauſes) than the vigilancy here aſcrib'd to him, over all things divine and human.

ver. 9. *Fly hence, deluding dream.*] It appears from *Ariſtotle*, *Poet. cap.* 26. that *Homer* was accus'd of impiety, for making *Jupiter* the author of a lye in this paſſage. It ſeems there were anciently theſe words in his ſpeech to the dream; Διδ-μὴν ἢ οἱ κῦδος ἀρεῖξαι, *Let us give him great glory.* (inſtead of which we have in the preſent copies, Τρωσὶν ἢ κῦδος ἀρέσθαι) but *Hippias* found a way to bring off *Homer*, only by placing the accent on the laſt ſyllable but one, Διδόμὴν, for Διδόμεν, the infinitive for the imperative; which amounts to no more than he bade the dream to promiſe him great glory. But *Macrobius de Somnio Scip. l.* 1. *c.* 7. takes off this imputation entirely, and will not allow there was any lye in the caſe. "*Agamemnon*" (ſays he) was order'd by the dream to lead "out *all* the forces of the *Greeks*, (Παντοδίην is the word) and "promis'd them victory on that condition: Now *Achilles* and "his forces not being ſummon'd to the aſſembly with the "reſt, that neglect abſolv'd *Jupiter* from his promiſe." This remark Madam *Dacier* has inſerted without mentioning its author. Mr. *Dacier* takes notice of a paſſage in the ſcripture exactly parallel to this, where God is repreſented making uſe of the malignity of his creatures to accompliſh his judgments, 'Tis in 2 *Chron.* ch. xviii. *ver.* 19, 20, 21. *And the Lord ſaid, Who will perſuade* Ahab, *that he may go up and fall at* Ramoth Gi-

lead

Bid him in arms draw forth th' embatt'l'd train,
Lead all his *Grecians* to the dusty plain.
Declare, ev'n now 'tis giv'n him to destroy
The lofty tow'rs of wide extended *Troy*.
For now no more the Gods with fate contend,
At *Juno*'s suit the heav'nly factions end.
Destruction hangs o'er yon' devoted wall,
And nodding *Ilion* waits th' impending fall.
Swift as the word the vain Illusion fled,
Descends, and hovers o'er *Atrides*' head;
Cloath'd in the figure of the *Pylian* Sage,
Renown'd for wisdom, and rever'd for age;
Around his temples spreads his golden wing,
And thus the flatt'ring dream deceives the King.

lead? *And there came forth a spirit, and stood before the Lord, and said, I will persuade him. And the Lord said unto him, Wherewith? And he said I will go forth, and I will be a lying spirit in the mouth of all his Prophets. And he said, Thou shalt persuade him, and prevail also: Go forth and do so.* Vide *Dacier* upon *Aristotle*, cap. 26.

℣. 20. *Descends, and hovers o'er* Atrides' *head.*] The whole action of the *dream* is beautifully natural and agreeable to philosophy. It perches on his head, to intimate that part to be the seat of the soul: It is circumfused about him to express that total possession of the senses which fancy has during our sleep. It takes the figure of the person who was dearest to *Agamemnon*; as whatever we think of most, when awake, is the common object of our dreams. And just at the instant of its vanishing, it leaves such an impression that the voice seems still to sound in his ear. No description can be more exact or lively. *Eustathius*, *Dacier*.

Canſt thou, with all a Monarch's cares oppreſt,
Oh *Atreus'* ſon; canſt thou indulge thy reſt?
Ill fits a Chief who mighty nations guides,
Directs in council, and in war preſides,
To whom its ſafety a whole people owes,
To waſte long nights in indolent repoſe.
Monarch awake! 'tis *Jove's* command I bear,
Thou, and thy glory, claim his heav'nly care.
In juſt array draw forth th' embattel'd train,
Lead all thy *Grecians* to the duſty plain;

Ev'n

℣. 33. *Draw forth th' embattel'd train*, &c] The dream here repeats the meſſage of *Jupiter* in the ſame terms that he receiv'd it. It is no leſs than the Father of Gods and Men who gives the order, and to alter a word were preſumption. *Homer* conſtantly makes his envoys obſerve this practice as a mark of decency and reſpect. Madam *Dacier* and others have applauded this in general, and ask'd by what authority an embaſſador could alter the terms of his commiſſion, ſince he is not greater or wiſer than the perſon who gave the charge? But this is not always the caſe in our author, who not only makes uſe of this conduct with reſpect to the orders of a higher power, but in regard to equals alſo; as when one Goddeſs deſires another to repreſent ſuch an affair, and ſhe immediately takes the words from her mouth and repeats them, of which we have an inſtance in this book. Some objection too may be rais'd to this manner, when commiſſions are given in the utmoſt haſte (in a battel or the like) upon ſudden emergencies, where it ſeems not very natural to ſuppoſe a man has time to get ſo many words by heart as he is made to repeat exactly. In the preſent inſtance, the repetition is certainly graceful, tho' *Zenodotus* thought it not ſo the third time, when *Agamemnon* tells his dream to the council. I do not pretend to decide upon the point: For tho' the reverence of

Ev'n now, O King! 'tis giv'n thee to deſtroy
The lofty tow'rs of wide-extended *Troy.*
For now no more the Gods with fate contend,
At *Juno*'s ſuit the heav'nly factions end.
Deſtruction hangs o'er yon' devoted wall,
And nodding *Ilion* waits th' impending fall.
Awake, but waking this advice approve,
And truſt the viſion that deſcends from *Jove.*
The Phantome ſaid; then vaniſh'd from his ſight,
Reſolves to air, and mixes with the night.
A thouſand ſchemes the Monarch's mind employ;
Elate in thought, he ſacks untaken *Troy;*
Vain as he was, and to the future blind;
Nor ſaw what *Jove* and ſecret fate deſign'd,
What mighty toils to either hoſt remain,
What ſcenes of grief, and numbers of the ſlain!
Eager he riſes, and in fancy hears
The voice celeſtial murm'ring in his ears.
Firſt on his limbs a ſlender veſt he drew,
Around him next the regal mantle threw,

of the repetition ſeem'd leſs needful in that place, than when it was deliver'd immediately from *Jupiter*; yet (as *Euſtathius* obſerves) it was neceſſary for the aſſembly to know the circumſtances of this dream, that the truth of the relation might be unſuſpected.

Th' embroider'd ſandals on his feet were ty'd:
The ſtarry faulchion glitter'd at his ſide;
And laſt his arm the maſſy ſceptre loads,
Unſtain'd, immortal, and the gift of Gods.
Now roſie morn aſcends the court of *Jove*,
Lifts up her light, and opens day above.
The King diſpatch'd his heralds with commands
To range the camp, and ſummon all the bands;
The gathering hoſts the monarch's word obey!
While to the fleet *Atrides* bends his way.
In his black ſhip the *Pylian* Prince he found;
There calls a Senate of the Peers around:
Th' aſſembly plac'd, the King of men expreſt
The counſels lab'ring in his artful breaſt.
Friends and Confed'rates! with attentive ear
Receive my words, and credit what you hear.
Late as I ſlumber'd in the ſhades of night,
A dream divine appear'd before my ſight;
Whoſe viſionary form like *Neſtor* came,
The ſame in habit, and in mein the ſame.
The heav'nly Phantome hover'd o'er my head,
And, doſt thou ſleep, Oh *Atreus'* ſon? (he ſaid)
Ill fits a Chief who mighty nations guides,
Directs in council, and in war preſides,

To whom its ſafety a whole people owes;
To waſte long nights in indolent repoſe.
Monarch awake! 'tis *Jove's* command I bear,
Thou and thy glory claim his heav'nly care;
In juſt array draw forth th' embattled train,
And lead the *Greciant* to the duſty plain;
Ev'n now, O King! 'tis giv'n thee to deſtroy
The lofty tow'rs of wide-extended *Troy*.
For now no more the Gods with fate contend,
At *Juno's* ſuit the heav'nly factions end.
Deſtruction hangs o'er yon' devoted wall,
And nodding *Ilion* waits th' impending fall.
This hear obſervant, and the Gods obey!
The Viſion ſpoke, and paſt in air away.
Now, valiant chiefs! ſince heav'n itſelf alarms,
Unite, and rouze the ſons of *Greece* to arms.

But

℣. 93. *Now, valiant chiefs,* &c.] The beſt commentary extant upon the firſt part of this book is in *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus*, who has given us an admirable explication of this whole conduct of *Agamemnon* in his ſecond treatiſe Περὶ ἐχλογῆς ὀνομάτων. He ſays, "This Prince had nothing ſo much at "heart as to draw the *Greeks* to a battel, yet knew not how "to proceed without *Achilles*, who had juſt retir'd from the "army; and was apprehenſive that the *Greeks* who were diſ-"pleas'd at the departure of *Achilles*, might refuſe obedience "to his orders, ſhould he abſolutely command it. In this "circumſtance he propoſes to the Princes in council to make

"a tryal

But first, with caution, try what yet they dare,
Worn with nine years of unsuccessful war?
To move the troops to measure back the main,
Be mine; and yours the province to detain.
He spoke, and sate; when *Nestor* rising said,
(*Nestor*, whom *Pylos'* sandy realms obey'd)
Princes of *Greece*, your faithful ears incline,
Nor doubt the vision of the pow'rs divine,

" a tryal of arming the *Grecians*, and offers an expedient him-
" self; which was that he should sound their dispositions by
" exhorting them to set sail for *Greece*, but that then the other
" Princes should be ready to dissuade and detain them. If
" any object to this stratagem, that *Agamemnon's* whole scheme
" would be ruin'd if the army should take him at his word
" (which was very probable) it is to be answer'd, that his
" design lay deeper than they imagine, nor did he depend
" upon his speech only for deraining them. He had some
" cause to fear the *Greeks* had a pique against him which they
" had conceal'd, and whatever it was, he judg'd it absolutely
" necessary to know it before he proceeded to a battel. He
" therefore furnishes them with an occasion to manifest it,
" and at the same time provides against any ill effects it
" might have, by his secret orders to the Princes. It succeeds
" accordingly, and when the troops are running to embark,
" they are stopp'd by *Ulysses* and *Nestor*."——One may farther observe that this whole stratagem is concerted in *Nestor's* ship, as one whose wisdom and secrecy was most confided in. The story of the vision's appearing in his shape, could not but engage him in some degree: It look'd as if *Jupiter* himself added weight to his counsels by making use of that venerable appearance, and knew this to be the most powerful method of recommending them to *Agamemnon*. It was therefore but natural for *Nestor* to second the motion of the King, and by the help of his authority it prevail'd on the other Princes.

Sent

Sent by great *Jove* to him who rules the hoſt;
Forbid it heav'n! this warning ſhould be loſt!
Then let us haſte, obey the God's alarms,
And join to rouze the ſons of *Greece* to arms.
Thus ſpoke the ſage: The kings without delay
Diſſolve the council, and their chief obey:
The ſceptred rulers lead; the following hoſt
Pour'd forth by thouſands, darkens all the coaſt.
As from ſome rocky cleft the ſhepherd ſees
Cluſt'ring in heaps on heaps the driving bees,
Rolling,

¶. 111. *As from ſome rocky cleft.*] This is the firſt ſimile in *Homer*, and we may obſerve in general that he excels all mankind in the number, variety, and beauty of his compariſons. There are ſcarce any in *Virgil* which are not tranſlated from him, and therefore when he ſucceeds beſt in them, he is to be commended but as an improver. *Scaliger* ſeems not to have thought of this, when he compares the ſimiles of theſe two authors (as indeed they are the places moſt obvious to compariſon.) The preſent paſſage is an inſtance of it, to which he oppoſes the following verſes in the firſt *Æneid.* ¶. 434.

Qualis apes æſtate novâ per florea rura
Exercet ſub ſole labor, cùm gentis adultos
Educunt fœtus, aut cùm liquentia mella
Stipant, & dulci diſtendunt nectare cellas;
Aut onera accipiunt venientûm, aut agmine facto
Ignavum fucos pecus à præſepibus arcent.
Fervet opus, redolentque thymo fragrantia mella.

This he very much prefers to *Homer's*, and in particular extols the harmony and ſweetneſs of the verſification above that of our Author; againſt which cenſure we need only appeal to the ears of the reader.

Rolling, and blackning, swarms succeeding swarms,
With deeper murmurs and more hoarse alarms;
Dusky they spread, a close-embody'd crowd,
And o'er the vale descends the living cloud.
So, from the tents and ships, a length'ning train
Spreads all the beach, and wide o'ershades the plain:
Along the region runs a deaf'ning sound;
Beneath their footsteps groans the trembling ground.
Fame flies before, the messenger of *Jove*,
And shining soars, and claps her wings above.

Nine

Ἤϋτε ἔθνεα εἶσι μελισσάων ἀδινάων,
Πέτρης ἐν γλαφυρῆς αἰεὶ νέον ἐρχομενάων,
Βοτρυδὸν ᾗ πέτονται ἐπ' ἄνθεσιν εἰαρινοῖσιν,
Αἱ μὲν τ' ἔνθα ἅλις ποποτήαται, αἱ δέ τε ἔνθα, &c.

But *Scaliger* was unlucky in his choice of this particular comparison: There is a very fine one in the sixth *Æneid*, ℣. 707. that better agrees with *Homer*'s: And nothing is more evident than that the design of these two is very different: *Homer* intended to describe the *multitudes* of *Greeks* pouring out of the ships, *Virgil* the *diligence* and *labour* of the builders at *Carthage*. And *Macrobius*, who observes this difference *Sat. l.* 5. *c.* 11. should also have found, that therefore the similes ought not to be compar'd together. The beauty of *Homer*'s is not inferior to *Virgil*'s, if we consider with what exactness it answers to its end. It consists of three particulars; the vast number of the troops is exprest in the swarms; their tumultuous manner of issuing out of the ships, and the perpetual egression which seem'd without end, are imaged in the bees pouring out of the rock: and lastly their dispersion over all the shore, in their descending on the flowers in the vales. *Spondanus* was therefore mistaken when he thought the whole application of this comparison lay in the single word ἰλαδὸν, *catervatim*, as *Chapman* has justly observ'd.

℣. 121. Fame *flies before.*] This assembly of the army is full

Nine sacred heralds now proclaiming loud
The monarch's will, suspend the list'ning crowd.
Soon as the throngs in order rang'd appear,
And fainter murmurs dy'd upon the ear,
The King of Kings his awful figure rais'd;
High in his hand the golden sceptre blaz'd:
The golden sceptre, of celestial frame,
By *Vulcan* form'd, from *Jove* to *Hermes* came:
To *Pelops* he th' immortal gift resign'd;
Th' immortal gift great *Pelops* left behind,
In *Atreus'* hand, which not with *Atreus* ends,
To rich *Thyestes* next the prize descends:
And now the mark of *Agamemnon's* reign,
Subjects all *Argos*, and controuls the main.

all of beauties: The lively description of their overspreading
e field, the noble boldness of the figure when *Fame* is re-
esented in person shining at their head, the universal tumult
ceeded by a solemn silence; and lastly the graceful rising
Agamemnon, all contribute to cast a majesty on this part.
the passage of the *sceptre*, *Homer* has found an artful and
etical manner of acquainting us with the high descent of
gamemnon, and celebrating the hereditary right of his fami-
; as well as finely hinted the original of his power to be
riv'd from heaven, in saying the sceptre was first the gift
Jupiter. It is with reference to this, that in the line where
first mentions it, he calls it Διοτρεφὲς σκῆπτρον, and accordingly
is translated in that place.

On

On this bright ſceptre now the King reclin'd,
And artful thus pronounc'd the ſpeech deſign'd,

℣. 138. *And artful thus pronounc'd the ſpeech deſign'd.*] The remarks of *Dionyſius* upon this ſpeech I ſhall give the reader altogether, tho' they lie ſcatter'd in his two diſcourſes περὶ ἰχνηματισμῶν, the ſecond of which is in a great degree but a repetition of the precepts and examples of the firſt. This happen'd, I believe, from his having compos'd them at diſtinct times and upon different occaſions.

" It is an exquiſite piece of art, when you ſeem to aim at " perſuading one thing, and at the ſame time inforce the " contrary. This kind of Rhetorick is of great uſe in all " occaſions of danger, and of this *Homer* has afforded a moſt " powerful example in the oration of *Agamemnon*. 'Tis a " method perfectly wonderful, and even carries in it an ap- " pearance of abſurdity; for all that we generally eſteem the " faults of oratory, by this means become the virtues of it. " Nothing is look'd upon as a greater error in a Rhetorician " than to alledge ſuch arguments as either are eaſily anſwer'd " or may be retorted upon himſelf; the former is a weak " part, the latter a dangerous one; and *Agamemnon* here de- " ſignedly deals in both. For it is plain that if a man muſt " not uſe weak arguments, or ſuch as may make againſt him, " when he intends to perſuade the thing he ſays; then on " the other ſide, when he does not intend it, he muſt obſerve " the contrary proceeding, and make what are the faults of " oratory in general, the excellencies of that oration in par- " ticular, or otherwiſe he will contradict his own intention, " and perſuade the contrary to what he means. *Agamemnon* " begins with an argument eaſily anſwer'd, by telling them " that *Jupiter had promis'd to crown their arms with victory.* For " if *Jupiter* had promis'd this, it was a reaſon for the ſtay of " the camp: *But now* (ſays he) *Jove has deceiv'd us, and we* " *muſt return with ignominy.* This is another of the ſame kind; " for it ſhews what a diſgrace it is to return. What follows " is of the ſecond ſort, and may be turn'd againſt him. *Jove* " *will have it ſo:* For which they have only *Agamemnon's* " word, but *Jove's* own promiſe for the contrary. *That God* " *has overthrown many cities, and will yet overturn many others.*

" The

Ye ſons of *Mars!* partake your leader's care,
Heroes of *Greece*, and brothers of the war!
Of partial *Jove* with juſtice I complain,
And heav'nly oracles believ'd in vain.

This was a ſtrong reaſon to ſtay, and put their confidence in him. *It is ſhameful to have it told to all poſterity, that ſo many thouſand* Greeks, *after a war of ſo long continuance, at laſt return'd home baffled and unſucceſsful.* All this might have been ſaid by a profeſt adverſary to the cauſe he pleads, and indeed is the ſame thing *Ulyſſes* ſays elſewhere in reproach of their flight. The concluſion evidently ſhews the intent of the ſpeaker. *Haſte then, let us fly*; φεύγωμεν, the word which of all others was moſt likely to prevail upon them to ſtay; the moſt open term of diſgrace he could poſſibly have us'd: 'Tis the ſame which *Juno* makes uſe of to *Minerva*, *Minerva* to *Ulyſſes*, and *Ulyſſes* again to the troops, to diſſuade their return; the ſame which *Agamemnon* himſelf had uſed to inſult *Achilles*, and which *Homer* never employs but with the mark of cowardice and infamy.

The ſame author farther obſerves, "That this whole oration has the air of being ſpoken in a paſſion. It begins with a ſtroke of the greateſt raſhneſs and impatience. Jupiter *has been unjuſt, Heaven has deceiv'd us.* This renders all he ſhall ſay of the leſs authority, at the ſame time that it conceals his own artifice; for his anger ſeems to account for the incongruities he utters." I could not ſuppreſs ſo fine a remark, tho' it falls out of the order of thoſe which precede it.

Before I leave this article, I muſt take notice that this ſpeech of *Agamemnon* is again put into his mouth in the ninth book, and (according to *Dionyſius*) for the ſame purpoſe, to retain the army at the ſiege after a defeat; tho' it ſeems unuſual to put the ſame trick twice upon the *Greeks* by the ſame perſon, and in the ſame words too. We may indeed ſuppoſe the firſt feint to have remain'd undiſcover'd, but at beſt it is a management in the Poet not very entertaining to the readers.

A ſafe

A safe return was promis'd to our toils,
Renown'd, triumphant, and enrich'd with spoils.
Now shameful flight alone can save the host,
Our blood, our treasure, and our glory lost.
So *Jove* decrees, resistless Lord of all!
At whose command whole empires rise or fall:
He shakes the feeble props of human trust,
And towns and armies humbles to the dust.
What shame to *Greece* a fruitless war to wage,
Oh lasting shame in ev'ry future age!
Once great in arms, the common scorn we grow,
Repuls'd and baffled by a feeble foe.
So small their number, that if wars were ceas'd,
And *Greece* triumphant held a gen'ral feast,

v. 155, *So small their number*, &c.] This part has a l air in comparison with the rest of the speech. *Scaliger* c it *tabernariam orationem*: But it is well obſerv'd by Madam D *cier*, that the image *Agamemnon* here gives of the *Trojans*, d not only render their numbers contemptible in comparison the *Greeks*, but their persons too: For it makes them ap but as a few vile slaves fit only to serve them with wine. which we may add, that it affords a prospect to his sold of their future state and triumph after the conquest of t enemies.

This passage gives me occasion to animadvert upon a co putation of the number of the *Trojans*, which the learned *gelus Politian* has offer'd at in his *Preface to* Homer. He thi they were fifty thousand without the auxiliaries, from the c clusion of the eighth *Iliad*, where it is said there were a th

l rank'd by tens; whole decads when they dine
uſt want a *Trojan* ſlave to pour the wine.
ut other forces have our hopes o'erthrown,
nd *Troy* prevails by armies not her own.
ow nine long years of mighty *Jove* are run,
nce firſt the labours of this war begun:
ur cordage torn, decay'd our veſſels lie,
nd ſcarce enſure the wretched pow'r to fly.
aſte then, for ever leave the *Trojan* wall!
ur weeping wives, our tender children call:
ve, duty, ſafety, ſummon us away,
is nature's voice, and nature we obey.
ur ſhatter'd barks may yet tranſport us o'er,
ſe and inglorious, to our native ſhore.
, *Grecians*, fly, your ſails and oars employ,
d dream no more of heav'n-defended *Troy*.

l funeral piles of *Trojans*, and fifty men attending each of
n. But that the auxiliaries are to be admitted into that
ber, appears plainly from this place: *Agamemnon* expreſ-
liſtinguiſhes the native *Trojans* from the aids, and reckons
one to ten *Grecians*, at which eſtimate there could not be
ve ten thouſand *Trojans*. *See the Notes on the catalogue.*
. 163. ——— *Decay'd our veſſels lie,*
And ſcarce enſure the wretched pow'r to fly.]
, and ſome other paſſages, are here tranſlated correſpon-
to the general air and ſenſe of this ſpeech, rather than
to the letter. The telling them in this place how much
ſhipping was decay'd, was a hint of their danger in re-
ing, as Madam *Dacier* has remark'd.

His

His deep design unknown, the hosts approve
Atrides' speech. The mighty numbers move.
So roll the billows to th' *Icarian* shore,
From East and South when winds begin to roar,
Burst their dark mansions in the clouds, and sweep
The whitening surface of the ruffled deep.
And as on corn when western gusts descend,
Before the blast the lofty harvests bend;
Thus o'er the field the moving host appears,
With nodding plumes and groves of waving spears.
The gath'ring murmur spreads, their trampling feet
Beat the loose sands, and thicken to the fleet.
With long-resounding cries they urge the train
To fit the ships, and launch into the main.
They toil, they sweat, thick clouds of dust arise,
The doubling clamours echo to the skies.
Ev'n then the *Greeks* had left the hostile plain,
And fate decreed the fall of *Troy* in vain;

ỳ. 175. *So roll the billows,* &c. One may take notice th *Homer* in these two similitudes has judiciously made choice the two most wavering and inconstant things in nature, compare with the multitude; the *waves* and *ears of corn.* first alludes to the noise and tumult of the people, in breaking and rolling of the billows; the second to their tak the same course, like corn bending one way; and both to easiness with which they are mov'd by every *breath,*

ut *Jove's* imperial Queen their flight ſurvey'd,
nd ſighing thus beſpoke the blue-ey'd maid.
Shall then the *Grecians* fly? O dire diſgrace!
nd leave unpuniſh'd this perfidious race?
hall *Troy*, ſhall *Priam*, and th' adult'rous ſpouſe,
n peace enjoy the fruits of broken vows?
nd braveſt chiefs, in *Helen's* quarrel ſlain,
ie unreveng'd on yon' deteſted plain?
lo: let my *Greeks*, unmov'd by vain alarms,
nce more refulgent ſhine in brazen arms.
aſte, Goddeſs, haſte! the flying hoſt detain,
or let one ſail be hoiſted on the main.
Pallas obeys, and from *Olympus'* height
wift to the ſhips precipitates her flight;
lyſſes, firſt in publick cares, ſhe found,
or prudent counſel like the Gods renown'd:
ppreſs'd with gen'rous grief the Heroe ſtood,
or drew his ſable veſſels to the flood.
nd is it thus, divine *Laërtes'* ſon!
hus fly the *Greeks* (the martial maid begun)
hus to their country bear their own diſgrace,
nd fame eternal leave to *Priam's* race?
all beauteous *Helen* ſtill remain unfreed,
ll unreveng'd a thouſand heroes bleed!

Haſte gen'rous *Ithacus!* prevent the ſhame,
Recall your armies, and your chiefs reclaim.
Your own reſiſtleſs eloquence employ,
And to th' Immortals truſt the fall of *Troy*.
The voice divine confeſs'd the warlike maid,
Ulyſſes heard, nor uninſpir'd obey'd:
Then meeting firſt *Atrides*, from his hand
Receiv'd th' imperial ſceptre of command.
Thus grac'd, attention and reſpect to gain,
He runs, he flies thro' all the *Grecian* train,
Each Prince of name, or chief in arms approv'd,
He fir'd with praiſe, or with perſuaſion mov'd.
Warriors like you, with ſtrength and wiſdom bleſt
By brave Examples ſhould confirm the reſt.
The monarch's will not yet reveal'd appears:
He tries our courage, but reſents our fears.
Th' unwary *Greeks* his fury may provoke;
Not thus the King in ſecret counſel ſpoke.
Jove loves our chief, from *Jove* his honour ſprings,
Beware! for dreadful is the wrath of Kings.
But if a clam'rous vile Plebeian roſe,
Him with reproof he check'd, or tam'd with blows.
Be ſtill, thou ſlave, and to thy betters yield;
Unknown alike in council and in field!

Ye Gods, what daſtards would our hoſt command?
Swept to the war, the lumber of a land.
Be ſilent; wretch, and think not here allow'd
That worſt of tyrants, an uſurping crowd.
To one ſole Monarch *Jove* commits the ſway;
His are the laws, and him let all obey.
With words like theſe the troops *Ulyſſes* rul'd,
The loudeſt ſilenc'd, and the fierceſt cool'd.
Back to th' aſſembly roll the thronging train,
Deſert the ſhips, and pour upon the plain.
Murm'ring they move, as when old *Ocean* roars,
And heaves huge ſurges to the trembling ſhores:

ỳ. 243. *To one ſole monarch.*] Thoſe perſons are under a miſtake who would make this ſentence a praiſe of abſolute monarchy. *Homer* ſpeaks it only with regard to a general of an army during the time of his commiſſion. Nor is *Agamemnon* ſtyl'd *King of Kings* in any other ſenſe, than as the reſt of the Princes had given him the ſupreme authority over them in the ſiege. *Ariſtotle* defines a King, Στρατηγὸς γὰρ ἦν δὴ δικαστὴς ὁ βασιλεὺς, καὶ τῶν πρὸς Θεοὺς Κύριος, *Leader of the war, Judge of controverſies*, and *Preſident of the ceremonies of the Gods*. That he had the principal care of religious rites, appears from many places in *Homer*; and that his power was no where abſolute but in war: for we find *Agamemnon* inſulted in the council, but in the army threatning deſerters with death. He was under an obligation to preſerve the privileges of his country, purſuant to which Kings are called by our Author Δικασπόλους, and Θεμιστοπόλους, the diſpenſers or managers of juſtice. And *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus* acquaints us, that the old *Grecian* Kings, whether hereditary or elective, had a council of their chief men, as *Homer* and the moſt ancient Poets teſtify; nor was it (he adds) in thoſe times as in ours, when Kings have a full liberty to do whatever they pleaſe. *Dion. Hal. lib. 2. Hiſt.*

The groaning banks are burſt with bellowing ſound,
The rocks remurmur, and the deeps rebound.
At length the tumult ſinks, the noiſes ceaſe,
And a ſtill ſilence lulls the camp to peace.
Therſites only clamour'd in the throng,
Loquacious, loud, and turbulent of tongue:
Aw'd by no ſhame, by no reſpect controul'd,
In ſcandal buſy, in reproaches bold:

¥. 255. Therſites *only.*] The ancients have aſcrib'd to *Homer* the firſt sketch of *Satyric* or *Comic* poetry, of which ſort was his poem call'd *Margites*, as *Ariſtotle* reports. Tho' that piece be loſt, his character of *Therſites* may give us a taſte of his vein in that kind. But whether ludicrous deſcriptions ought to have place in the *Epic* poem, has been juſtly queſtion'd: Neither *Virgil* nor any of the moſt approv'd Ancients have thought fit to admit them into their compoſitions of that nature; nor any of the beſt moderns except *Milton*, whoſe fondneſs for *Homer* might be the reaſon of it. However this is in its kind a very maſterly part, and our Author has ſhewn great judgment in the particulars he has choſen to compoſe the picture of a pernicious creature of wit; the chief of which are a deſire of promoting laughter at any rate, and a contempt of his ſuperiors. And he ſums up the whole very ſtrongly, by ſaying that *Therſites* hated *Achilles* and *Ulyſſes*; in which, as *Plutarch* has remark'd in his treatiſe of envy and hatred, he makes it the utmoſt completion of an ill character to bear a malevolence to the beſt men. What is farther obſervable is, that *Therſites* is never heard of after this his firſt appearance: Such a ſcandalous character is to be taken no more notice of, than juſt to ſhew that 'tis deſpiſed. *Homer* has obſerv'd the ſame conduct with regard to the moſt *deform'd* and moſt *beautiful* perſon of his poem: For *Nireus* is thus mention'd once and no more throughout the *Iliad*. He places a worthleſs *beauty* and an ill-natur'd *wit* upon the ſame foot, and ſhews that the gifts of the body without thoſe of the mind are not more deſpicable, than thoſe of the mind it ſelf without virtue.

With

With witty malice ſtudious to defame;
Scorn all his joy, and laughter all his aim.
But chief he glory'd with licentious ſtyle
To laſh the great, and monarchs to revile.
His figure ſuch as might his ſoul proclaim;
One eye was blinking, and one leg was lame:
His mountain-ſhoulders half his breaſt o'erſpread,
Thin hairs beſtrew'd his long miſ-ſhapen head.
Spleen to mankind his envious heart poſſeſt,
And much he hated all, but moſt the beſt.
Ulyſſes or *Achilles* ſtill his theme;
But Royal ſcandal his delight ſupreme.
Long had he liv'd the ſcorn of ev'ry *Greek*,
Vext when he ſpoke, yet ſtill they heard him ſpeak.
Sharp was his voice; which in the ſhrilleſt tone,
Thus with injurious taunts attack'd the throne.
Amidſt the glories of ſo bright a reign,
What moves the great *Atrides* to complain?

'Tis

V. 275. *Amidſt the glories.*] 'Tis rema k'd by *Dionyſius Halic.* in his treatiſe of the *Examination of Writers*, that there could ot be a better artifice thought on to recal the army to their bedience, than this of our Author. When they were of-nded at their general in favour of *Achilles*, nothing could ore weaken *Achilles*'s intereſt than to make ſuch a fellow as *herſites* appear of his party, whoſe impertinence would give em a diſguſt of thinking or acting like him. There is no

'Tis thine whate'er the warrior's breaſt inflames,
The golden ſpoil, and thine the lovely dames.
With all the wealth our wars and blood beſtow,
Thy tents are crowded, and thy cheſts o'erflow.
Thus at full eaſe in heaps of riches roll'd,
What grieves the monarch? Is it thirſt of gold?
Say, ſhall we march with our unconquer'd pow'rs,
(The *Greeks* and I) to *Ilion*'s hoſtile tow'rs,
And bring the race of royal baſtards here,
For *Troy* to ranſom at a price too dear?
But ſafer plunder thy own hoſt ſupplies:
Say, would'ſt thou ſeize ſome valiant leader's prize?

ſurer method to reduce generous ſpirits, than to make them ſee they are purſuing the ſame views with people of no merit, and ſuch whom they cannot forbear deſpiſing themſelves. Otherwiſe there is nothing in this ſpeech but what might become the mouth of *Neſtor* himſelf, if you except a word or two. And had *Neſtor* ſpoken it, the army had certainly ſet ſail for *Greece*; but becauſe it was utter'd by a ridiculous fellow whom they were aſham'd to follow, they are reduc'd, and ſatisfy'd to continue the ſiege.

℣. 284. *The* Greeks *and I.*] Theſe boaſts of himſelf are the few words which *Dionyſius* objects to in the foregoing paſſage. I cannot but think the grave Commentators here very much miſtaken, who imagine *Therſites* in earneſt in theſe vaunts, and ſeriouſly reprove his inſolence. They ſeem to me manifeſt ſtrokes of Irony, which had render'd them ſo much the more improper in the mouth of *Neſtor*, who was otherwiſe none of the leaſt boaſters himſelf. And conſider'd as ſuch, they are equal to the reſt of the ſpeech, which has an infinite deal of ſpirit, humour, and ſatyr.

O

Or, if thy heart to gen'rous love be led,
Some captive fair, to bleſs thy Kingly bed!
Whate'er our maſter craves, ſubmit we muſt,
Plagu'd with his pride, or puniſh'd for his luſt.
Oh women of *Achaia!* men no more!
Hence let us fly, and let him waſte his ſtore
In loves and pleaſures on the *Phrygian* ſhore.
We may be wanted on ſome buſie day,
When *Hector* comes: So great *Achilles* may:
From him he forc'd the prize we jointly gave,
From him, the fierce, the fearleſs, and the brave:
And durſt he, as he ought, reſent that wrong,
This mighty tyrant were no tyrant long.

Fierce from his ſeat, at this *Ulyſſes* ſprings,
In gen'rous vengeance of the King of Kings.
With indignation ſparkling in his eyes,
He views the wretch, and ſternly thus replies.

Peace, factious monſter, born to vex the ſtate,
With wrangling talents form'd for foul debate:
Curb that impetuous tongue, nor raſhly vain
And ſingly mad, aſperſe the ſov'reign reign.
Have we not known thee, ſlave! of all our hoſt,
The man who acts the leaſt, upbraids the moſt?

Think not the *Greeks* to ſhameful flight to bring,
Nor let thoſe lips profane the name of King.
For our return we truſt the heav'nly pow'rs;
Be that their care; to fight like men be ours.
But grant the hoſt with wealth the gen'ral load,
Except detraction, what haſt thou beſtow'd?
Suppoſe ſome Heroe ſhould his ſpoils reſign,
Art thou that Hero, could thoſe ſpoils be thine?
Gods! let me periſh on this hateful ſhore,
And let theſe eyes behold my ſon no more;
If, on thy next offence, this hand forbear
To ſtrip thoſe arms thou ill deſerv'ſt to wear,
Expel the council where our Princes meet,
And ſend thee ſcourg'd, and howling thro' the fleet.
He ſaid; and cow'ring as the daſtard bends,
The weighty ſceptre on his back deſcends:
On the round bunch the bloody tumours riſe;
The tears ſpring ſtarting from his haggard eyes:

℣. 326. *He ſaid, and cow'ring.*] The vile figure *Therſites* make here is a good piece of *groteſque*; the pleaſure expreſs'd by th ſoldiers at this action of *Ulyſſes* (notwithſtanding they are di appointed by him of their hopes of returning) is agreeable t that generous temper, at once honeſt and thoughtleſs, whic is commonly found in military men; to whom nothing is odious as a daſtard, and who have not naturally the greate kindneſs for a wit.

Trembli

Trembling he ſate, and ſhrunk in abject fears,
From his vile viſage wip'd the ſcalding tears.
While to his neighbour each expreſs'd his thought;
Ye Gods! what wonders has *Ulyſſes* wrought?
What fruits his conduct and his courage yield?
Great in the council, glorious in the field.
Gen'rous he riſes in the crown's defence,
To curb the factious tongue of inſolence.
Such juſt examples on offenders ſhown,
Sedition ſilence, and aſſert the throne.
'Twas thus the gen'ral voice the Heroe prais'd,
Who riſing, high th' imperial ſceptre rais'd:
The blue-ey'd *Pallas*, his celeſtial friend,
(In form a herald) bade the crowds attend.
Th' expecting crowds in ſtill attention hung,
To hear the wiſdom of his heav'nly tongue.
Then deeply thoughtful, pauſing e're he ſpoke,
His ſilence thus the prudent Heroe broke.
Unhappy monarch! whom the *Grecian* race
With ſhame deſerting, heap with vile diſgrace.

Not

℣. 348. *Unhappy monarch!* &c.] *Quintilian* ſpeaking of the various kinds of oratory which may be learn'd from *Homer*, mentions among the greateſt inſtances the ſpeeches in this book. *Nonne vel unus liber quo miſſa ad Achillem legatio continetur,*

Not ſuch at *Argos* was their gen'rous vow,
Once all their voice, but ah! forgotten now:

tur, vel in primo inter duces illa contentio, vel dicta in ſecundo ſententiæ, omnes litium ac conſiliorum explicat artes? Affectus quidem vel illos mites, vel hos concitatos, nemo erit tam indoctus, qui non ſuâ in teſtiatæ hunc autorem habuiſſe fateatur. It is indeed hardly poſſible to find any where more refin'd turns of policy, or more artful touches of oratory. We have no ſooner ſeen *Agamemnon* excel in one ſort, but *Ulyſſes* is to ſhine no leſs in another directly oppoſite to it. When the ſtratagem of pretending to ſet ſail, had met with too ready a conſent from the people, his eloquence appears in all the forms of art. In his firſt ſpeech he had perſuaded the captains with mildneſs, telling them the people's glory depended upon them, and readily giving a turn to the firſt deſign, which had like to have been ſo dangerous, by repreſenting it only as a project of *Agamemnon* to diſcover the cowardly. In his ſecond, he had commanded the ſoldiers with bravery, and made them know what part they ſuſtain'd in the war. In his third, he had rebuk'd the ſeditious in the perſon of *Therſites*, by reproofs, threats, and actual chaſtiſement. And now in this fourth, when all are gather'd together, he applies to them in topics which equally affect them all; He raiſes their hearts by putting them in mind of the promiſes of heaven, and thoſe prophecies, of which as they had ſeen the truth in the nine years delay, they might now expect the accompliſhment in the tenth year's ſucceſs: which is a full anſwer to what *Agamemnon* had ſaid of *Jupiter's* deceiving them.

Dionyſius obſerves one ſingular piece of art, in *Ulyſſes*'s manner of applying himſelf to the people when he would inſinuate any thing to the Princes, and addreſſing to the Princes when he would blame the people. He tells the ſoldiers, they muſt not all pretend to be rulers there, let there be one King, one Lord; which is manifeſtly a precept deſign'd for the leaders to take to themſelves. In the ſame manner *Tiberius Rhetor* remarks the beginning of his laſt oration to be a fine *Ethopœia* or oblique repreſentation of the people, upon whom the ſeverity of the reproach is made to fall, while he ſeems to render the King an object of their pity.

Unhappy monarch! whom the Grecian *race*
With ſhame deſerting, &c.

Ne-

Ne'er to return, was then the common cry,
'Till *Troy*'s proud ſtructure ſhou'd in aſhes lie.
Behold them weeping for their native ſhore!
What cou'd their wives or helpleſs children more?
What heart but melts to leave the tender train,
And, one ſhort month, endure the wintry main?
Few leagues remov'd, we wiſh our peaceful ſeat,
When the ſhip toſſes, and the tempeſts beat:
Then well may this long ſtay provoke their tears,
The tedious length of nine revolving years.
Not for their grief the *Grecian* hoſt I blame!
But vanquiſh'd! baffled! oh eternal ſhame!
Expect the time to *Troy*'s deſtruction giv'n,
And try the faith of *Calchas* and of heav'n.
What paſt at *Aulis*, *Greece* can witneſs bear,
And all who live to breathe this *Phrygian* air.
Beſide a fountain's ſacred brink we rais'd
Our verdant altars, and the victims blaz'd:
('Twas where the plane-tree ſpread its ſhades around)
The altars heav'd; and from the crumbling ground,
A mighty dragon ſhot, of dire portent;
From *Jove* himſelf the dreadful ſign was ſent.
Strait to the tree his ſanguine ſpires he roll'd,
And curl'd around in many a winding fold.

The topmoſt branch a mother-bird poſſeſt;
Eight callow infants fill'd the moſſy neſt;
Herſelf the ninth: the ſerpent as he hung,
Stretch'd his black jaws, and craſh'd the crying young:
While hov'ring near, with miſerable moan,
The drooping mother wail'd her children gone,
The mother laſt, as round the neſt ſhe flew,
Seiz'd by the beating wing, the monſter ſlew:
Not long ſurviv'd; to marble turn'd he ſtands
A laſting prodigy on *Aulis'* ſands.
Such was the will of *Jove*; and hence we dare
Truſt to his omen, and ſupport the war.
For while around we gaze with wondring eyes,
And trembling ſought the pow'rs with ſacrifice,
Full of his God, the rev'rend *Calchas* cry'd,
Ye *Grecian* warriors! lay your fears aſide.
This wondrous ſignal *Jove* himſelf diſplays,
Of long, long labours, but eternal praiſe.
As many birds as by the ſnake were ſlain,
So many years the toils of *Greece* remain;
But wait the tenth, for *Ilion's* fall decreed:
Thus ſpoke the Prophet, thus the fates ſucceed.
Obey, ye *Grecians!* with ſubmiſſion wait,
Nor let your flight avert the *Trojan* fate.

He

He ſaid: the ſhores with loud applauſes ſound,
The hollow ſhips each deaf'ning ſhout rebound.
Then *Neſtor* thus—Theſe vain debates forbear,
Ye talk like children, not likes heroes dare.

Where

℣. 402. *Then* Neſtor *thus.*] Nothing is more obſervable than *Homer's* conduct of this whole incident; by what judicious and well-imagin'd degrees the army is reſtrain'd, and wrought up to the deſires of the General. We have given the detail of all the methods *Ulyſſes* proceeded in: The activity of his character is now to be contraſted with the gravity of *Neſtor's*, who covers and ſtrengthens the other's arguments, and conſtantly appears through the poem a weighty Cloſer of debates. The *Greeks* had already ſeen their General give way to his authority, in the diſpute with *Achilles* in the former book, and could expect no leſs than that their ſtay ſhould be concluded on by *Agamemnon* as ſoon as *Neſtor* undertook that cauſe. For this was all they imagin'd his diſcourſe aim'd at; but we ſhall find it had a farther deſign, from *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus*. "There are two things (ſays that excellent critick) "worthy of admiration in the ſpeeches of *Ulyſſes* and *Neſtor*, "which are the different deſigns they ſpeak with, and the "different applauſes they receive. *Ulyſſes* has the acclamati-"ons of the army, and *Neſtor* the praiſe of *Agamemnon*. One "may enquire the reaſon, why he extols the latter preferab-"ly to the former, when all that *Neſtor* alledges ſeems only "a repetition of the ſame arguments which *Ulyſſes* had given "before him? It might be done in encouragement to the "old man, in whom it might raiſe a concern to find his "ſpeech not follow'd with ſo general an applauſe as the o-"ther's. But we are to refer the ſpeech of *Neſtor* to that "part of oratory which ſeems only to confirm what another "has ſaid, and yet ſuperinduces and carries a farther point. "*Ulyſſes* and *Neſtor* both compare the *Greeks* to children, for "their unmanly deſire to return home; they both reproach "them with the engagements and vows they had paſt, and "were now about to break; they both alledge the proſpe-"rous ſigns and omens receiv'd from heaven. Notwithſtand-"ing this, the end of their orations is very different. *Ulyſ-*

Where now are all your high resolves at last?
Your leagues concluded, your engagements past!
Vow'd with libations and with victims then,
Now vanish'd like their smoke: the faith of men!

" *ses*'s business was to detain the *Grecians* when they were up-
" on the point of flying; *Nestor* finding that work done to
" his hands, design'd to draw them instantly to battel. This
" was the utmost *Agamemnon* had aim'd at, which *Nestor*'s ar-
" tifice brings to pass; for while they imagine by all he says
" that he is only persuading them to stay, they find them-
" selves unawares put into order of battel, and led under
" their Princes to fight. *Dion. Hal.* περὶ ἐχηματισμῶν, *Part* 1 *and* 2.

We may next take notice of some particulars of this speech: Where he says they lose their time in *empty words*, he hints at the dispute between *Agamemnon* and *Achilles*: Where he speaks of those who *deserted the* Grecian *cause*, he glances at *Achilles* in particular. When he represents *Helen* in affliction and tears, he removes the odium from the person in whose cause they were to fight; and when he moves *Agamemnon* to advise with his council, artfully prepares for a reception of his own advice by that modest way of proposing it. As for the advice itself, to divide the army into bodies, each of which should be compos'd entirely of men of the same countrey; nothing could be better judg'd both in regard to the present circumstance, and with an eye to the future carrying on of the war. For the first, its immediate effect was to take the whole army out of its tumult, break whatever cabals they might have form'd together by separating them into a new division, and cause every single mutineer to come instantly under the view of his own proper officer for correction. For the second, it was to be thought the army would be much strengthen'd by this union: Those of different nations who had different aims, interests and friendships, could not assist each other with so much zeal, or so well concur to the same end, as when friends aided friends, kinsmen their kinsmen, *&c.* when each commander had the glory of his own nation in view, and a greater emulation was excited between body and body; as not only warring for the honour of *Greece* in general, but for that of every distinct *State* in particular.

While

While uſeleſs words conſume th' unactive hours,
No wonder *Troy* ſo long reſiſts our pow'rs.
Riſe, great *Atrides!* and with courage ſway;
We march to war if thou direct the way.
But leave the few that dare reſiſt thy laws,
The mean deſerters of the *Grecian* cauſe,
To grudge the conqueſts mighty *Jove* prepares,
And view, with envy, our ſucceſsful wars.
On that great day when firſt the martial train
Big with the fate of *Ilion*, plow'd the main;
Jove, on the right, a proſp'rous ſignal ſent,
And thunder rolling ſhook the firmament.
Encourag'd hence, maintain the glorious ſtrife,
Till ev'ry ſoldier graſp a *Phrygian* wife,
Till *Helen*'s woes at full reveng'd appear,
And *Troy*'s proud matrons render tear for tear.
Before that day, if any *Greek* invite
His country's troops to baſe, inglorious flight,
Stand forth that *Greek!* and hoiſt his ſail to fly;
And dye the daſtard firſt, who dreads to dye.
But now, O Monarch! all thy chiefs adviſe:
Nor what they offer, thou thy ſelf deſpiſe.
Among thoſe counſels, let not mine be vain;
In tribes and nations to divide thy train:

His

His ſep'rate troops let ev'ry leader call,
Each ſtrengthen each, and all encourage all.
What chief, or ſoldier, of the num'rous band,
Or bravely fights or ill obeys command,
When thus diſtinct they war, ſhall ſoon be known,
And what the cauſe of *Ilion* not o'erthrown;
If fate reſiſts, or if our arms are ſlow,
If Gods above prevent, or men below.
To him the King: How much thy years excell
In arts of council, and in ſpeaking well!

ỳ. 440. *How much thy years excel.*] Every one has obſerv' how glorious an elogium of wiſdom *Homer* has here giv where *Agamemnon* ſo far prefers it to valour, as to wiſh for ten *Ajax*'s or *Achilles*'s, but only for ten *Neſtors*. F the reſt of this ſpeech, *Dionyſius* has ſumm'd it up as follo "*Agamemnon* being now convinc'd the *Greeks* were offend "at him, on account of the departure of *Achilles*, paci "them by a generous confeſſion of his fault; but then aſſe "the character of a ſupreme Ruler, and with the air of co "mand threatens the diſobedient." I cannot conclude th part of the ſpeeches without remarking how beautifully th riſe above one another, and how they more and more awak the ſpirit of war in the *Grecians*. In this laſt there is a wo derful fire and vivacity, when he prepares them for the glo ous toils they were to undergo by a warm and lively deſcri tion of them. The repetition of the words in that part h a beauty, which (as well as many others of the ſame kin has been loſt by moſt tranſlators.

Εὖ μὲν τις δόρυ θηξάθω, εὖ δ' ἀσπίδα θέσθω,
Εὖ δέ τις ἵπποισιν δεῖπνον δότω ὠκυπόδεσσιν,
Εὖ δέ τις ἅρματος ἀμφὶς ἰδὼν ———

Ie

Oh would the Gods, in love to *Greece*, decree
But ten ſuch ſages as they grant in thee;
Such wiſdom ſoon ſhould *Priam*'s force deſtroy,
And ſoon ſhould fall the haughty tow'rs of *Troy!*
But *Jove* forbids, who plunges thoſe he hates
In fierce contention and in vain debates.
Now great *Achilles* from our aid withdraws,
By me provok'd; a captive maid the cauſe:
If e'er as friends we join, the *Trojan* wall
Muſt ſhake, and heavy will the vengeance fall!
But now, ye warriors, take a ſhort repaſt;
And, well-refreſh'd, to bloody conflict haſte.
His ſharpen'd ſpear let ev'ry *Grecian* wield,
And ev'ry *Grecian* fix his brazen ſhield,
Let all excite the fiery ſteeds of war,
And all for combate fit the rattling car.
This day, this dreadful day, let each contend;
No reſt, no reſpite, 'till the ſhades deſcend;
Till darkneſs, or 'till death ſhall cover all:
Let the war bleed, and let the mighty fall!

I cannot but believe *Milton* had this paſſage in his eye in that of his ſixth book.

——— *Let each*
His adamantine coat gird well; and each
Fit well his helm, gripe faſt his orbed ſhield, &c.

'Till

'Till bath'd in sweat be ev'ry manly breast,
With the huge shield each brawny arm depress,
Each aking nerve refuse the lance to throw,
And each spent courser at the chariot blow.
Who dares, inglorious, in his ships to stay,
Who dares to tremble on this signal day,
That wretch too mean to fall by martial pow'r,
The birds shall mangle, and the dogs devour.
The Monarch spoke: and strait a murmur rose,
Loud as the surges when the tempest blows,
That dash'd on broken rocks tumultuous roar,
And foam and thunder on the stony shore.
Strait to the tents the troops dispersing bend,
The fires are kindled, and the smokes ascend;
With hasty feasts they sacrifice, and pray
T'avert the dangers of the doubtful day.
A steer of five year's age, large limb'd, and fed,
To *Jove*'s high altars *Agamemnon* led:
There bade the noblest of the *Grecian* Peers;
And *Nestor* first, as most advanc'd in years.
Next came *Idomeneus* and *Tydeus*' son,
Ajax the less, and *Ajax Telamon*;

Then wise *Ulysses* in his rank was plac'd;
And *Menelaus* came unbid, the last.
The Chiefs surround the destin'd beast, and take
The sacred off'ring of the salted cake:
When thus the King prefers his solemn pray'r,
Oh thou! whose thunder rends the clouded air,
Who in the heav'n of heav'ns has fix'd thy throne,
Supreme of Gods! unbounded, and alone!
Hear! and before the burning sun descends,
Before the night her gloomy veil extends,
Low in the dust be laid yon' hostile spires,
Be *Priam*'s palace sunk in *Grecian* fires,
In *Hector*'s breast he plung'd this shining sword,
And slaughter'd Heroes groan around their Lord!
Thus pray'd the Chief: his unavailing pray'r
Great *Jove* refus'd, and tost in empty air:

ỳ. 485. *And* Menelaus *came unbid.*] The criticks have enter'd into a warm dispute, whether *Menelaus* was in the right or in the wrong, in coming uninvited: Some maintaining it the part of an impertinent or a fool to intrude upon another man's table; and others insisting upon the privilege a brother or a kinsman may claim in this case. The *English* reader had not been troubled with the translation of this word Αὐτόματος, but that *Plato* and *Plutarch* have taken notice of the passage. The verse following this, in most editions, Ἤδει γὰρ καὶ θυμὸν, &c. being rejected as spurious by *Demetrius Phalereus*, is omitted here upon his authority.

The

The God averſe, while yet the fumes aroſe,
Prepar'd new toils, and doubled woes on woes.
Their pray'rs perform'd, the Chiefs the rite purſue,
The barley ſprinkled, and the victim ſlew.
The limbs they ſever from th' incloſing hyde,
The thighs, ſelected to the Gods, divide.
On theſe, in double cauls involv'd with art,
The choiceſt morſels lie from ev'ry part.
From the cleft wood the crackling flames aſpire,
While the fat victim feeds the ſacred fire.
The thighs thus ſacrific'd, and entrails dreſt,
Th' aſſiſtants part, transfix, and roaſt the reſt;
Then ſpread the tables, the repaſt prepare,
Each takes his ſeat, and each receives his ſhare.
Soon as the rage of hunger was ſuppreſt,
The gen'rous *Neſtor* thus the Prince addreſt.
Now bid thy Heralds ſound the loud alarms,
And call the ſquadrons ſheath'd in brazen arms:
Now ſeize th' occaſion, now the troops ſurvey,
And lead to war, when Heav'n directs the way.
He ſaid; the Monarch iſſu'd his commands;
Strait the loud heralds call the gath'ring bands.
The chiefs incloſe their King; the hoſts divide,
In tribes and nations rank'd on either ſide.

High in the midſt the blue-ey'd Virgin flies;
From rank to rank ſhe darts her ardent eyes:
The dreadful *Ægis*, *Jove*'s immortal ſhield,
Blaz'd on her arm, and lighten'd all the field:
Round the vaſt orb an hundred ſerpents roll'd,
Form'd the bright fringe, and ſeem'd to burn in gold.
With this each *Grecian*'s manly breaſts ſhe warms,
Swells their bold hearts, and ſtrings their nervous arms;
No more they ſigh, inglorious to return,
But breathe revenge, and for the combate burn.
As on ſome mountain, thro' the lofty grove,
The crackling flames aſcend and blaze above,

The

¥. 526. *The dreadful Ægis, Jove's immortal ſhield.*] *Homer* does not expreſſly call it a ſhield in this place, but it is plain from ſeveral other paſſages that it was ſo. In the fifth *Iliad*, this *Ægis* is deſcrib'd with a ſublimity that is inexpreſſible. The figure of the *Gorgon*'s head upon it is there ſpecify'd, which will juſtify the mention of the ſerpents in the tranſlation here: The verſes are remarkably ſonorous in the original. The image of the Goddeſs of battels blazing with her immortal ſhield before the army, inſpiring every Heroe, and aſſiſting to range the troops, is agreeable to the bold painting of our author. And the encouragement of a divine power ſeem'd no more than was requiſite, to change ſo totally the diſpoſitions of the *Grecians*, as to make them now more ardent for the combate, than they were before deſirous of a return. This finiſhes the conqueſt of their inclinations, in a manner at once wonderfully poetical, and correſpondent to the moral which is every where ſpread through *Homer*, that nothing is entirely brought about but by the divine aſſiſtance.

¥. 534. *As on ſome mountain*, &c. The imagination of *Homer*

The fires expanding as the winds arise,
Shoot their long beams, and kindle half the skies:
So from the polish'd arms, and brazen shields,
A gleamy splendor flash'd along the fields.
Not less their number than th' embody'd cranes,
Or milk-white swans in *Asius'* watry plains,

mer was so vast and so lively, that whatsoever objects presented themselves before him, imprest'd their images so forcibly that he pour'd them forth in comparisons equally simple and noble; without forgetting any circumstance which could instruct the reader, and make him see those objects in the same strong light wherein he saw them himself. And in this one of the principal beauties of Poetry consists. *Homer*, on the sight of the march of this numerous army, gives us five similes in a breath, but all entirely different. The first regards the splendor of their armour, as a fire, *&c.* The second the various movements of so many thousands before they can range themselves in battel-array, like the swans, *&c.* The third inspects their number, as the leaves or flowers, *&c.* The fourth the ardour with which they run to the combate, like the legions of insects, *&c.* And the fifth the obedience and exact discipline of the troops, ranged without confusion under their leaders, as flocks under their shepherds. This fecundity and variety can never be enough admir'd. *Dacier.*

Ver. 541. *Or milk-white swans in* Asius' *watry plains.*] Scaliger, who is seldom just to our author, yet confesses these verses to be *pleniſſima Nectaris.* But he is greatly mistaken when he accuses this simile of impropriety, on the supposition that a number of birds flying without order are here compar'd to an army ranged in array of battel. On the contrary, *Homer* in this expresses the stir and tumult the troops were in before they got into order, running together from the ships and tents: Νεῶν ἀπὸ, καὶ κλισιάων. But when they are placed in their ranks, he compares them to the flocks under their shepherds. This distinction will plainly appear from the detail of the five similes in the foregoing note.

That o'er the windings of *Cayster's* springs,
Stretch their long necks, and clap their ruſtling wings,
Now tow'r aloft, and courſe in airy rounds;
Now light with noiſe; with noiſe the field reſounds.

Virgil has imitated this with great happineſs in his ſeventh *Æneid*.

Ceu quondam nivei liquida inter nubila cycni
Cùm ſeſe è paſtu referunt, & longa canoros
Dant per colla modos, ſonat amnis & Aſia longè
Pulſa palus ——————

Like a long team of ſnowy ſwans on high,
Which clap their wings, and cleave the liquid ſky,
When homeward from their watry paſtures born,
They ſing, and *Aſia's* lakes their notes return.

Mr. *Dryden* in this place has miſtaken *Aſius* for *Aſia*, which *Virgil* took care to diſtinguiſh by making the firſt ſyllable of *Aſius* long, as of *Aſia* ſhort. Tho' (if we believe Madam *Dacier*) he was himſelf in an error, both here and in the firſt *Georgic*.

——*Qua Aſia circum*
Dulcibus in ſtagnis rimantur prata Cayſtri.

for ſhe will not allow that Ἀσίου can be a Patronymic Adjective, but the Genitive of a proper Name, Ἄσιος, which being turn'd into *Ionic* is Ἀσίη, and by a *Syncope* makes Ἀσίου. This puts me in mind of another criticiſm upon the 29th verſe of this book: 'tis obſerv'd that *Virgil* uſes *Inarime* for *Arime*, as if he had read Ἐναρίμους, inſtead of Εἰν Ἀρίμοισι. *Scaliger* ridicules this trivial remark, and asks if it can be imagin'd that *Virgil* was ignorant of the name of a place ſo near him as *Baiæ*? It is indeed unlucky for good writers, that men who have learning, ſhould lay a ſtreſs upon ſuch trifles; and that thoſe who have none, ſhould think it learning to do ſo.

Thus num'rous and confus'd, extending wide,
The legions crowd *Scamander*'s flow'ry ſide;
With ruſhing troops the plains are cover'd o'er,
And thund'ring footſteps ſhake the ſounding ſhore:
Along the river's level meads they ſtand,
Thick as in ſpring the flow'rs adorn the land,
Or leaves the trees; or thick as inſects play,
The wandring nation of a ſummer's day,
That drawn by milky ſteams, at ev'ning hours,
In gather'd ſwarms ſurround the rural bow'rs;

Fro

℣ 552. *Or thick as inſects play.*] This ſimile tranſlated li rally runs thus; *As the numerous troops of flies about a ſhepher cottage in the ſpring, when the milk moiſtens the pails; ſuch numb of* Greeks *ſtood in the field againſt the* Trojans, *deſiring their d ſtruction.* The lowneſs of this image, in compariſon w thoſe which precede it, will naturally ſhock a modern critic and would ſcarce be forgiven in a Poet of theſe times. T utmoſt a tranſlator can do is to heighten the expreſſion, as to render the diſparity leſs obſervable: which is endea vour'd here, and in other places. If this be done ſucceſsfu ly, the reader is ſo far from being offended at a low idea that it raiſes his ſurprize to find it grown great in the Poet hands, of which we have frequent inſtances in *Virgil*'s Geo gicks. Here follows another of the ſame kind, in the ſimil of *Agamemnon* to a *Bull*, juſt after he has been compar'd t *Jove*, *Mars*, and *Neptune*. This, *Euſtathius* tells us, was blam by ſome criticks, and Mr *Hobbes* has left it out in his tranſla tion. The liberty has been taken here to place the humble ſimile firſt, reſerving the nobler one as a more magnificen cloſe of the deſcription: The bare turning the ſentence re moves the objection. *Milton*, who was a cloſe imitator o our author, has often copy'd him in theſe humble compar ſca

om pail to pail with buſy murmur run
he gilded legions glitt'ring in the ſun.
throng'd, ſo cloſe, the *Grecian* ſquadrons ſtood
radiant arms, and thirſt for *Trojan* blood.
ch leader now his ſcatter'd force conjoins
cloſe array, and forms the deep'ning lines.
ot with more eaſe, the ſkilful ſhepherd ſwain
llects his flock from thouſands on the plain.
he King of Kings, majeſtically tall,
ow'rs o'er his armies, and outſhines them all:
ke ſome proud Bull that round the paſtures leads
s ſubject-herds, the Monarch of the meads.
eat as the Gods th' exalted Chief was ſeen,
s ſtrength like *Neptune*, and like *Mars* his mien,

Jove

s. He has not ſcrupled to inſert one in the midſt of that mpous deſcription of the rout of the rebel-angels in the h book, where the Son of God in all his dreadful Majeſty epreſented pouring his vengeance upon them:

——*As a herd*
Of goats, or tim'rous flocks together throng'd,
Drove them before him thunder-ſtruck——

. 568. *Great as the Gods.*] *Homer* here deſcribes the figure pont of *Agamemnon* with all imaginable grandeur, in ma- him appear cloath'd with the majeſty of the greateſt of Gods; and when *Plutarch* (in his ſecond oration of the une of *Alexander*) blamed the compariſon of a man to e Deities at once, that cenſure was not paſs'd upon *Homer* Poet, but by *Plutarch* as a Prieſt. This character of Ma-

Jove o'er his eyes celeſtial glories ſpread,
And dawning conqueſt play'd around his head.
Say, Virgins, ſeated round the throne divine,
All-knowing Goddeſſes! immortal Nine!
Since earth's wide regions, heav'n's unmeaſur'd heig
And hell's abyſs, hide nothing from your ſight,
(We, wretched mortals! loſt in doubts below,
But gueſs by rumour, and but boaſt we know)
Oh ſay what Heroes, fir'd by thirſt of fame,
Or urg'd by wrongs, to *Troy*'s deſtruction came?
To count them all, demands a thouſand tongues,
A throat of braſs, and adamantine lungs.

jeſty, in which *Agamemnon* excels all the other Heroes, is ſerv'd in the different views of him throughout the *Iliad*. is thus he appears on his ſhip in the catalogue; thu ſhines in the eyes of *Priam* in the third book; thus agai the beginning of the eleventh; and ſo in the reſt.

℣. 572. *Say virgins.*] It is hard to conceive any m more ſolemn, any opening to a ſubject more noble and m nificent, than this invocation of *Homer* before his cata That omnipreſence he gives to the Muſes, their poſt in higheſt Heaven, their comprehenſive ſurvey thro' the w extent of the creation, are circumſtances greatly imag Nor is any thing more perfectly fine, or exquiſitely m than the oppoſition of the extenſive kowledge of the d ties on the one ſide, to the blindneſs and ignorance of m kind on the other. The greatneſs and importance of ſubject is highly rais'd by his exalted manner of deci the difficulty of it, *Not tho' my lungs were braſs*, &c. an the air he gives it, as if what follows were immediately in and no leſs than the joint labour of all the Muſes.

Daug

Daugthers of *Jove* assist! inspir'd by you
The mighty labour dauntless I pursue:
What crowded armies, from what climes they bring,
Their names, their numbers, and their Chiefs I sing.

The Catalogue *of the* Ships.

THE hardy warriors whom *Bœotia* bred,
Peneleus, *Leitus*, *Prothoënor* led:
With these *Arcesilaus* and *Clonius* stand,
Equal in arms, and equal in command.

ỳ. 586. *The hardy warriors.*] The catalogue begins in this place, which I forbear to treat of at present: only I must acknowledge here that the translation has not been exactly punctual to the order in which *Homer* places his towns. However it has not trespass'd against Geography; the transpositions I mention being no other than such minute ones, as *Strabo* confesses the author himself is not free from: Ὁ δὲ Ποιητὴς γένια μὲν χώρας λέγει συνεχῶς, ὥσπερ καὶ κεῖται. Οἷον ὑρίην ἐνέμοντο, καὶ Αὐλίδα, &c. Ἄλλο τί δ' οὐχ ὡς ἔστι τῇ τάξει, Σκοῖνόν τε Σκόλον τε, Θέσπειαν Γραῖάν τε. *lib.* 8. There is not to my remembrance any place thoughout this catalogue omitted; a liberty which Mr. *Dryden* has made no difficulty to take and to confess, in his *Virgil*. But a more scrupulous care was owing to *Homer*, on account of that wonderful exactness and unequal'd diligence, which he has particularly shewn in this part of his work.

These head the troops that rocky *Aulis* yields,
And *Eteon*'s hills, and *Hyrie*'s watry fields,
And *Schœnos*, *Scolos*, *Graa* near the main,
And *Mycalessia*'s ample piny plain.
Those who in *Peteon* or *Ilesion* dwell,
Or *Harma* where *Apollo*'s Prophet fell;
Heleon and *Hyle*, which the springs o'erflow;
And *Medeon* lofty, and *Ocalea* low;
Or in the meads of *Haliartus* stray,
Or *Thespia* sacred to the God of Day.
Oncheſtus, *Neptune*'s celebrated groves;
Copa, and *Thisbè*, fam'd for silver doves,
For flocks *Erythra*, *Gliſſa* for the vine;
Platæa green, and *Niſa* the divine.
And they whom *Thebe*'s well-built walls incloſe,
Where *Mydè*, *Eutresis*, *Coronè* roſe;
And *Arnè* rich, with purple harvests crown'd;
And *Antheidon*, *Bœotia*'s utmoſt bound.
Full fifty ships they send, and each conveys
Twice sixty warriors thro' the foaming seas.
To these succeed *Aſpledon*'s martial train,
Who plow the spacious *Orchomenian* plain.
Two valiant brothers rule th' undaunted throng,
Iälmen and *Aſcalaphus* the strong:

Son

Sons of *Aſtyochè*, the heav'nly fair,
Whoſe virgin charms ſubdu'd the God of War:
(In *Actor*'s court as ſhe retir'd to reſt,
The ſtrength of *Mars* the bluſhing maid compreſt)
Their troops in thirty ſable veſſels ſweep,
With equal oars, the hoarſe-reſounding deep.
The *Phocians* next in forty barks repair,
Epiſtrophus and *Schedius* head the war.
From thoſe rich regions where *Cephiſſus* leads
His ſilver current thro' the flow'ry meads;
From *Panopëa*, *Chryſa* the divine,
Where *Anemoria*'s ſtately turrets ſhine,
Where *Pytho*, *Daulis*, *Cypariſſus* ſtood,
And fair *Lilæa* views the riſing flood.
Theſe rang'd in order on the floating tide,
Cloſe, on the left, the bold *Bœotians* ſide.
Fierce *Ajax* led the *Locrian* ſquadrons on,
Ajax the leſs, *Oïleus*' valiant ſon;
Skill'd to direct the flying dart aright;
Swift in purſuit, and active in the fight.
Him, as their Chief, the choſen troops attend,
Which *Beſſa*, *Thronus*, and rich *Cynos* ſend:

Opus, *Calliarus*, and *Scarphe*'s bands;
And thoſe who dwell where pleaſing *Augia* ſtands,
And where *Boägrius* floats the lowly lands,
Or in fair *Tarphe*'s ſylvan ſeats reſide:
In forty veſſels cut the yielding tide.
Euboea next her martial ſons prepares,
And ſends the brave *Abantes* to the wars:
Breathing revenge, in arms they take their way
From *Chalcis*' walls, and ſtrong *Eretria*;
Th' *Iſteian* fields for gen'rous vines renown'd,
The fair *Caryſtos*, and the *Styrian* ground;
Where *Dios* from her tow'rs o'erlooks the plain,
And high *Cerinthus* views the neighb'ring main.
Down their broad ſhoulders falls a length of hair;
Their hands diſmiſs not the long lance in air;

℣. 649. *Down their broad ſhoulders*, &c.] The *Greek* has it ὄπιθεν κομόωντες, *à tergo comantes*. It was the cuſtom of theſe people to ſhave the fore-part of their heads, which they did that their enemies might not take the advantage of ſeizing them by the hair: the hinder-part they let grow, as a valiant race that would never turn their backs. Their manner of fighting was hand to hand, without quitting their javelins (in the way of our pike-men.) *Plutarch* tells us this in the life of *Theſeus*, and cites, to ſtrengthen the authority of *Homer*, ſome verſes of *Archilochus* to the ſame effect. *Eobanus Heſſus*, who tranſlated *Homer* into *Latin* verſe, was therefore miſtaken in his verſion of this paſſage.

Præcipuè jaculatores, haſtamque periti
Vibrare, & longis contingere pectora telis.

But

But with portended ſpears in fighting fields,
Pierce the tough cors'lets and the brazen ſhields.
Twice twenty ſhips tranſport the warlike bands,
Which bold *Elphenor*, fierce in arms commands.
Full fifty more from *Athens* ſtem the main,
Led by *Meneſtheus* thro' the liquid plain,
(*Athens* the fair, where great *Erectheus* ſway'd,
That ow'd his nurture to the blue-ey'd maid,
But from the teeming furrow took his birth,
The mighty offſpring of the foodful earth.
Him *Pallas* plac'd amidſt her wealthy fane,
Ador'd with ſacrifice and oxen ſlain;
Where as the years revolve her altars blaze,
And all the tribes reſound the Goddeſs' praiſe.)
No Chief like thee, *Meneſtheus!* *Greece* could yield,
To marſhal armies in the duſty field,
Th' extended wings of battel to diſplay,
Or cloſe th' embody'd hoſt in firm array.
Neſtor alone, improv'd by length of days,
For martial conduct bore an equal praiſe.
With theſe appear the *Salaminian* bands,
Whom the gigantic *Telamon* commands;
In twelve black ſhips to *Troy* they ſteer their courſe,
And with the great *Athenians* join their force.

Next move to war the gen'rous *Argive* train,
From high *Trœzenè*, and *Maſeta*'s plain,
And fair *Ægina* circled by the main:
Whom ſtrong *Tirynthe*'s lofty walls ſurround,
And *Epidaure* with viny harveſts crown'd:
And where fair *Aſinen* and *Hermion* ſhow
Their cliffs above, and ample bay below.
Theſe by the brave *Euryalus* were led,
Great *Sthenelus*, and greater *Diomed*,
But chief *Tydides* bore the ſov'reign ſway;
In fourſcore barks they plow the watry way.
The proud *Mycenè* arms her martial pow'rs,
Cleonè, *Corinth*, with imperial tow'rs,
Fair *Arathyrea*, *Ornia*'s fruitful plain,
And *Ægion*, and *Adraſtus*' ancient reign;
And thoſe who dwell along the ſandy ſhore,
And where *Pellenè* yields her fleecy ſtore,
Where *Helicè* and *Hypereſia* lie,
And *Genoëſſa*'s ſpires ſalute the ſky.
Great *Agamemnon* rules the num'rous band,
A hundred veſſels in long order ſtand,
And crowded nations wait his dread command.
High on the deck the King of Men appears,
And his refulgent arms in triumph wears;

Proud

Proud of his hoſt, unrival'd in his reign,
In ſilent pomp he moves along the main.
His brother follows, and to vengeance warms
The hardy *Spartans*, exercis'd in arms:
Phares and *Bryſia*'s valiant troops, and thoſe
Whom *Lacedæmon*'s lofty hills incloſe;
Or *Meſſe*'s tow'rs for ſilver doves renown'd,
Amyclæ, *Laäs*, *Augia*'s happy ground,
And thoſe whom *Œtylos*' low walls contain,
And *Helos*, on the margin of the main:
Theſe, o'er the bending Ocean, *Helen*'s cauſe
In ſixty ſhips with *Menelaus* draws:
Eager and loud, from man to man he flies,
Revenge and fury flaming in his eyes;

While

℣. 711. *Eager and loud from man to man he flies.*] The figure *Menelaus* makes in this place is remarkably diſtinguiſh'd from the reſt, and ſufficient to ſhew his concern in the war was perſonal, while the others acted only for intereſt or glory in general. No leader in all the liſt is repreſented thus eager and paſſionate; he is louder than them all in his exhortations; more active in running among the troops; and inſpirited with the thoughts of revenge, which he ſtill encreaſes with the ſecret imagination of *Helen*'s repentance. The behaviour is finely imagin'd.

The epithet βοὴν ἀγαθὸς, which is apply'd in this and other places to *Menelaus*, and which literally ſignifies *loud-voiced*, is made by the Commentators to mean *valiant*, and tranſlated *bello ſtrenuus*. The reaſon given by *Euſtathius* is, that a loud voice is a mark of ſtrength, the uſual effect of fear being to cut ſhort the reſpiration. I own this ſeems to be forc'd, and

While vainly fond, in fancy oft he hears
The fair one's grief, and ſees her falling tears.
In ninety ſail, from *Pylos'* ſandy coaſt,
Neſtor the ſage conducts his choſen hoſt:
From *Amphigenia's* ever-fruitful land;
Where *Æpy* high, and little *Pteleon* ſtand;
Where beauteous *Arenè* her ſtructure ſhows,
And *Thryon's* walls *Alphëus'* ſtreams incloſe:
And *Dorion*, fam'd for *Thamyris'* diſgrace,
Superior once of all the tuneful race,
'Till vain of mortal's empty praiſe, he ſtrove
To match the ſeed of cloud-compelling *Jove!*
Too daring bard! whoſe unſucceſsful pride
Th' immortal *Muſes* in their art defy'd.
Th' avenging *Muſes* of the light of day
Depriv'd his eyes, and ſnatch'd his voice away;
No more his heav'nly voice was heard to ſing;
His hand no more awak'd the ſilver ſtring.

rather believe it was one of thoſe kind of ſir-names given from ſome diſtinguiſhing quality of the perſon (as that of a loud voice might belong to *Menelaus*) which Monſ. *Boileau* mentions in his ninth reflexion upon *Longinus*; in the ſame manner as ſome of our Kings were called *Edward Long-ſhanks*, *William Rufus*, &c. But however it be, the epithet taken in the literal ſenſe has a beauty in this verſe from the circumſtance *Menelaus* is deſcribed in, which determin'd the tranſlator to uſe it.

Where

Where under high *Cyllenè*, crown'd with wood,
The ſhaded tomb of old *Æpytus* ſtood;
From *Ripè*, *Stratie*, *Tegea*'s bord'ring towns,
The *Phenean* fields, and *Orchomenian* downs,
Where the fat herds in plenteous paſture rove;
And *Symphelus* with her ſurrounding grove,
Parrhaſia, on her ſnowy cliffs reclin'd,
And high *Eniſpè* ſhook by wintry wind,
And fair *Mantinea*'s ever-pleaſing ſite;
In ſixty ſail th' *Arcadian* bands unite.
Bold *Agapenor*, glorious at their head,
(*Anceus*' ſon) the mighty ſquadron led.
Their ſhips, ſupply'd by *Agamemnon*'s care,
Thro' roaring ſeas the wond'ring warriors bear;
The firſt to battel on th' appointed plain,
But new to all the dangers of the main.
Thoſe, where fair *Elis* and *Buprаſium* join;
Whom *Hyrmin*, here, and *Myrſinus* confine,

℣. 746. *New to all the dangers of the main.*] The *Arcadians* being an inland people were unskill'd in navigation, for which reaſon *Agamemnon* furniſh'd them with ſhipping. From hence, and from the laſt line of the deſcription of the ſceptre, where he is ſaid to preſide over *many iſlands*, *Thucydides* takes occaſion to obſerve that the power of *Agamemnon* was ſuperior to the reſt of the Princes of *Greece*, on account of his naval forces, which had render'd him maſter of the ſea. *Thucyd. lib.* 1.

And bounded there, where o'er the vallies roſe
Th' *Olenian* rock; and where *Aliſium* flows;
Beneath four chiefs (a num'rous army) came:
The ſtrength and glory of th' *Epean* name.
In ſep'rate ſquadrons theſe their train divide,
Each leads ten veſſels thro' the yielding tide.
One was *Amphimachus*, and *Thalpius* one;
(*Eurytus*' this, and that *Teätus*' ſon)
Diores ſprung from *Amarynceus*' line;
And great *Polyxenus*, of force divine.
But thoſe who view fair *Elis* o'er the ſeas,
From the bleſt iſlands of th' *Echinades*,
In forty veſſels under *Meges* move,
Begot by *Phyleus*, the belov'd of *Jove*.
To ſtrong *Dulichium* from his ſire he fled,
And thence to *Troy* his hardy warriors led.
Ulyſſes follow'd thro' the watry road,
A chief, in wiſdom equal to a God.
With thoſe whom *Cephalenia*'s iſle inclos'd,
Or till their fields along the coaſt oppos'd;
Or where fair *Ithaca* o'erlooks the floods,
Where high *Neritos* ſhakes his waving woods,
Where *Ægilipa*'s rugged ſides are ſeen,
Crocylia rocky, and *Zacynthus* green.

These in twelve gallies with vermillion prores,
Beneath his conduct sought the *Phrygian* shores.
Thoas came next, *Andræmon's* valiant son,
From *Pleuron's* walls and chalky *Calydon*,
And rough *Pylene*, and th' *Olenian* steep,
And *Chalcis*, beaten by the rolling deep.
He led the warriors from th' *Ætolian* shore,
For now the sons of *Œneus* were no more!
The glories of the mighty race were fled!
Œneus himself, and *Meleager* dead!
To *Thoas'* care now trust the martial train,
His forty vessels follow thro' the main.
Next eighty barks the *Cretan* King commands,
Of *Gnossus*, *Lyctus*, and *Gortyna's* bands,
And those who dwell where *Rhytion's* domes arise,
Or white *Lycastus* glitters to the skies,
Or where by *Phastus* silver *Jardan* runs;
Crete's hundred cities pour forth all her sons.
These march'd, *Idomeneus*, beneath thy care,
And *Merion*, dreadful as the God of war.
Tlepolemus, the son of *Hercules*,
Led nine swift vessels thro' the foamy seas,
From *Rhodes* with everlasting sunshine bright,
Jalyssus, *Lindus*, and *Camirus* white.

His captive mother fierce *Alcides* bore
From *Ephyr*'s walls, and *Selle*'s winding shore,
Where mighty towns in ruins spread the plain,
And saw their blooming warriors early slain.
The Hero, when to manly years he grew,
Alcides' uncle, old *Licymnius*, slew;
For this, constrain'd to quit his native place,
And shun the vengeance of th' *Herculean* race,
A fleet he built, and with a num'rous train
Of willing exiles, wander'd o'er the main;
Where many seas, and many suff'rings past,
On happy *Rhodes* the chief arriv'd at last:
There in three tribes divides his native band,
And rules them peaceful in a foreign land;
Encreas'd and prosper'd in their new abodes,
By mighty *Jove*, the sire of men and Gods;
With joy they saw the growing empire rise,
And show'rs of wealth descending from the skies.
Three ships with *Nireus* sought the *Trojan* shore,
Nireus, whom *Aglaë* to *Charopus* bore,

Nireus

℣. 815. *Three ships with* Nireus.] This leader is no where mention'd but in these lines, and is an exception to the observation of *Macrobius*, that all the persons of the catalogue make their appearance afterwards in the poem. *Homer* himself gives us the reason, because *Nireus* had but a small share of

Nireus, in faultleſs ſhape, and blooming grace,
The lovelieſt youth of all the *Grecian* race;
Pelides only match'd his early charms;
But few his troops, and ſmall his ſtrength in arms.

Next thirty gallies cleave the liquid plain,
Of thoſe, *Calydna*'s ſea-girt iſles contain;
With them the youth of *Niſyrus* repair,
Caſus the ſtrong, and *Crapathus* the fair;
Cos, where *Eurypylus* poſſeſt the ſway,
Till great *Alcides* made the realms obey:
Theſe *Antiphus* and bold *Phidippus* bring,
Sprung from the God, by *Theſſalus* the King.

Now, Muſe, recount *Pelaſgic Argos*' pow'rs,
From *Alos*, *Alopè*, and *Trechin*'s tow'rs;
From *Phthia*'s ſpacious vales; and *Hella*, bleſt
With female beauty far beyond the reſt.

of worth and valour; his Quality only gave him a privilege to be nam'd among men. The Poet has cauſed him to be remember'd no leſs than *Achilles* or *Ulyſſes*, but yet in no better manner than he deſerv'd, whoſe only qualification was his beauty: 'Tis by a bare repetition of his name three times, which juſt leaves ſome impreſſion of him on the mind of the reader. Many others of as trivial memory as *Nireus*, have been preſerv'd by Poets from oblivion; but few Poets have ever done this favour to want of merit, with ſo much judgment. *Demetrius Phalereus* περὶ Ἑρμηνείας, *ſect.* 61. takes notice of this beautiful repetition, which in a juſt deference to ſo delicate a Critick is here preſerv'd in the tranſlation.

Full

Full fifty ships beneath *Achilles'* care
Th' *Achaians*, *Myrmidons*, *Hellenians* bear;
Theſſalians all, tho' various in their name,
The ſame their nation, and their chief the ſame.
But now inglorious, ſtretch'd along the ſhore,
They hear the brazen voice of war no more:
No more the foe they face in dire array:
Cloſe in his fleet their angry leader lay;
Since fair *Briſeïs* from his arms was torn,
The nobleſt ſpoil from ſack'd *Lyrneſſus* born,
Then, when the chief the *Theban* walls o'erthrew,
And the bold ſons of great *Evenus* ſlew.
There mourn'd *Achilles*, plung'd in depth of care,
But ſoon to riſe in ſlaughter, blood, and war.
To theſe the youth of *Phylacè* ſucceed,
Itona, famous for her fleecy breed,
And graſſy *Pteleon* deck'd with chearful greens,
The bow'rs of *Ceres*, and the ſylvan ſcenes,
Sweet *Pyrrhaſus*, with blooming flourets crown'd,
And *Antron's* watry dens, and cavern'd ground.
Theſe own'd as chief *Proteſilas* the brave,
Who now lay ſilent in the gloomy grave:
The firſt who boldly touch'd the *Trojan* ſhore,
And dy'd a *Phrygian* lance with *Grecian* gore;

There lies, far distant from his native plain;
Unfinish'd, his proud palaces remain,
And his sad consort beats her breast in vain.
His troops in forty ships *Podarces* led,
Phiclus' Son, and brother to the dead;
Nor he unworthy to command the host;
Yet still they mourn'd their ancient leader lost.
The men who *Glaphyra's* fair soil partake,
Where hills encircle *Bœbe's* lowly lake,
Where *Phera* hears the neighb'ring waters fall,
Or proud *Iolcus* lifts her airy wall,
In ten black ships embark'd for *Ilion's* shore,
With bold *Eumelus*, whom *Alceste* bore;
All *Pelia's* race *Alceste* far outshin'd,
The grace and glory of the beauteous kind.
The troops *Methone*, or *Thaumacia* yields,
Olizon's rocks, or *Melibœa's* fields,
With *Philoctetes* sail'd, whose matchless art
From the tough bow directs the feather'd dart.

℣. 871. *The grace and glory of the beauteous kind.*] He gives *Alcestis* this elogy of the glory of her sex, for her conjugal piety, who dy'd to preserve the life of her husband *Admetus*. *Euripides* has a tragedy on this subject, which abounds in the most masterly strokes of tenderness: In particular the first act, which contains the description of her preparation for death, and of her behaviour in it, can never be enough admired.

Sev'n were his ships; each Vessel fifty row,
Skill'd in his science of the dart and bow.
But he lay raging on the *Lemnian* ground,
A pois'nous *Hydra* gave the burning wound:
There groan'd the chief in agonizing pain,
Whom *Greece* at length shall wish, nor wish in vain.
His forces *Medon* led from *Lemnos'* shore,
Oïleus' son, whom beauteous *Rhena* bore.
Th' *Œchalian* race, in those high tow'rs contain'd,
Where once *Eurytus* in proud triumph reign'd,
Or where her humbler turrets *Tricca* rears,
Or where *Ithomè*, rough with rocks, appears;
In thirty sail the sparkling waves divide,
Which *Podalirius* and *Machaon* guide.
To these his skill their * Parent-God imparts,
Divine professors of the healing arts.
The bold *Ormenian* and *Asterian* bands
In forty barks *Eurypylus* commands,
Where *Titan* hides his hoary head in snow,
And where *Hyperia's* silver fountains flow.
Thy troops, *Argissa Polypœtes* leads,
And *Eleon*, shelter'd by *Olympus'* shades,
Gyrtonè's warriors; and where *Orthè* lies,
And *Oloosson's* chalky cliffs arise.

* *Æsculapius.*

Sprung from *Pirithous* of immortal race,
The fruit of fair *Hippodame*'s embrace,
That day, when hurl'd from *Pelion*'s cloudy head,
To distant dens the shaggy *Centaurs* fled)
With *Polypœtes* join'd in equal sway
Leonteus leads, and forty ships obey.
In twenty sail the bold *Perrhæbians* came
From *Cyphus*, *Guneus* was their leader's name.
With these the *Enians* join'd, and those who freeze
Where cold *Dodona* lifts her holy trees;
Or where the pleasing *Titaresius* glides,
And into *Peneus* rolls his easy tides;
Yet o'er the silver surface pure they flow,
The sacred stream unmix'd with streams below.
Sacred and awful! From the dark abodes
Styx pours them forth, the dreadful oath of Gods!

℣. 906. *In twenty sail the bold* Perrhæbians *came.*] I cannot tell whether it be worth observing that, except *Ogilby*, I have not met with one translator who has exactly preserv'd the number of the ships. *Chapman* puts eighteen under *Eumelus* instead of eleven: *Hobbes* but twenty under *Æsculaphus* and *Ialmen* instead of thirty, and but thirty under *Menelaus* instead of sixty: *Valterie* (the former *French* translator) has given *Agamemnon* forty for sixty, and *Nestor* forty for ninety: Madam *Dacier* gives *Nestor* but eighty. I must confess this translation not to have been quite so exact as *Ogilby*'s having cut off one from the number of *Eumelus*'s ships, and two from those of *Guneus*: *Eleven* and *two and twenty* would sound but oddly in *English* verse, and a poem contracts a littleness by insisting on such trivial niceties.

Last

Laſt under *Protheus* the *Magneſians* ſtood,
Protheus the ſwift, of old *Tenthredon*'s blood;
Who dwell where *Pelion*, crown'd with piny boughs,
Obſcures the glade, and nods his ſhaggy brows;
Or where thro' flow'ry *Tempè Peneüs* ſtray'd,
(The region ſtretch'd beneath his mighty ſhade)
In forty ſable barks they ſtem'd the main;
Such were the chiefs, and ſuch the *Grecian* train.
Say next, O Muſe! of all *Achaïa* breeds,
Who braveſt fought, or rein'd the nobleſt ſteeds?
Eumelus' mares were foremoſt in the chace,
As eagles fleet, and of *Pheretian* race;
Bred where *Pieria's* fruitful fountains flow,
And train'd by him who bears the ſilver bow.
Fierce in the fight: their noſtrils breath'd a flame,
Their height, their colour, and their age the ſame;
O'er fields of death they whirl the rapid car,
And break the ranks, and thunder thro' the war.

℣. 925. *Or rein'd the nobleſt ſteeds.*] This coupling together the men and horſes ſeems odd enough, but *Homer* every where treats theſe noble animals with remarkable regard. We need not wonder at this enquiry, *which were the beſt horſes?* from him, who makes his horſes of heavenly extraction as well as his heroes; who makes his warriors addreſs them with ſpeeches and excites them by all thoſe motives which affect a human breaſt; who deſcribes them ſhedding tears of ſorrow, and even capable of voice and prophecy: In moſt of which points *Virgil* has not ſcrupled to imitate him.

Aſ-

ax in arms the firſt renown acquir'd,
hile ſtern *Achilles* in his wrath retir'd:
is was the ſtrength that mortal might exceeds,
d his, th' unrival'd race of heav'nly ſteeds)
Thetis' ſon now ſhines in arms no more;
s troops, neglected on the ſandy ſhore,
empty air their ſportive jav'lins throw,
whirl the diſk, or bend an idle bow:

939. *His troops*, &c.] The image in theſe lines of the uſements of the *Myrmidons*, while *Achilles* detain'd them m the fight, has an exquiſite propriety in it. Tho' they not in action, their very diverſions are military, and a d of exerciſe of arms. The cover'd chariots and feeding ſes, make a natural part of the picture; and nothing is r than the manly concern of the captains, who as they are pos'd more ſenſible of glory than the ſoldiers, take no re in their diverſions, but wander ſorrowfully round the mp, and lament their being kept from the battel. This ference betwixt the ſoldiers and the leaders (as *Dacier* obves) is a decorum of the higheſt beauty. *Milton* has admily imitated this in the deſcription he gives in his ſecond ok of the diverſions of the angels during the abſence of *aſiel*.

Part on the plain, or in the air ſublime,
Upon the wing, or in ſwift race contend;
Part curb their fiery ſteeds, or ſhun the goal
With rapid wheels, or fronted brigades form.

All

t how nobly and judiciouſly has he raiſed the image, in pportion to the nature of thoſe more exalted beings, in at which follows.

Others with vaſt Typhœan *rage more fell*
Rend up both rocks and hills, and ride the air
In whirlwind; hell ſcarce holds the wild uproar.

Unſtain'd

Unſtain'd with blood his cover'd chariots ſtand;
Th' immortal courſers graze along the ſtrand;
But the brave Chiefs th' inglorious life deplor'd,
And wand'ring o'er the camp, requir'd their Lord.
Now, like a deluge, cov'ring all around,
The ſhining armies ſwept along the ground;
Swift as a flood of fire, when ſtorms ariſe,
Floats the wide field, and blazes to the ſkies.
Earth groan'd beneath them; as when angry *Jove*
Hurls down the forky light'ning from above,
On *Arimè* when he the thunder throws,
And fires *Typhœus* with redoubled blows,

℣. 950. *As when angry* Jove.] The compariſon preced this, of a fire which runs thro' the corn and blazes to h ven, had expreſt at once the dazling of their arms and ſwiftneſs of their march. After which *Homer* having m tion'd the ſound of their feet, ſuperadds another ſimile, wh comprehends both the ideas and the no for here (ſays *Euſtathius*) the earth appears to *burn* and at the ſame time. Indeed the firſt of theſe ſimiles is ſo full ſo noble, that it ſcarce ſeem'd poſſible to be exceeded by image drawn from nature. But *Homer* to raiſe it yet high has gone into the *marvellous*, given a prodigious and ſuper tural proſpect, and brought down *Jupiter* himſelf, array'd all his terrors, to diſcharge his lightnings and thunder *Typhœus*. The Poet breaks out into this deſcription with air of enthuſiaſm which greatly heightens the image in ge ral, while it ſeems to tranſport him beyond the limits of exact compariſon. And this daring manner is particular our author above all the ancients, and to *Milton* above all moderns.

Wh

ere *Typhon* preſt beneath the burning load,
feels the fury of th' avenging God.
ut various *Iris*, *Jove*'s commands to bear,
eds on the wings of winds thro' liquid air;
riam's porch the *Trojan* chiefs ſhe found,
old conſulting, and the youths around.
es' ſhape, the monarch's ſon, ſhe choſe,
o from *Æſetes* tomb obſerv'd the foes,
h on the mound; from whence in proſpect lay
fields, the tents, the navy, and the bay.
his diſſembled form, ſhe haſts to bring
unwelcome meſſage to the *Phrygian* King.
eaſe to conſult, the time for action calls,
r, horrid war, approaches to your walls!
mbled armies oft' have I beheld;
ne'er till now ſuch numbers charg'd a field.
ick as autumnal leaves, or driving ſand,
moving ſquadrons blacken all the ſtrand.
ou, Godlike *Hector!* all thy force employ,
emble all th' united bands of *Troy*;
uſt array let ev'ry leader call
foreign troops: This day demands them all.
The voice divine the mighty chief alarms;
council breaks, the warriors ruſh to arms.

The gates unfolding pour forth all their train,
Nations on nations fill the dusky plain,
Men, steeds, and chariots shake the trembling grou
The tumult thickens, and the skies resound.
Amidst the plain in sight of *Ilion* stands
A rising mount, the work of human hands;
(This for *Myrinne*'s tomb th' immortals know,
Tho' call'd *Bateïa* in the world below)
Beneath their chiefs in martial order here,
Th' auxiliar troops and *Trojan* hosts appear.
The godlike *Hector*, high above the rest,
Shakes his huge spear, and nods his plumy crest:
In throngs around his native bands repair,
And groves of lances glitter in the air.
Divine *Æneas* brings the *Dardan* race,
Anchises' son, by *Venus*' stol'n embrace,
Born in the shades of *Ida*'s secret grove,
(A mortal mixing with the Queen of Love)
Archilochus and *Acamas* divide
The warrior's toils, and combate by his side.
Who fair *Zeleia*'s wealthy vallies till,
Fast by the foot of *Ida*'s sacred hill;
Or drink, *Æsepus*, of thy sable flood;
Were led by *Pandarus*, of royal blood.

o whom his art *Apollo* deign'd to ſhow,
rac'd with the preſent of his ſhafts and bow.
From rich *Apeſus* and *Adreſtia*'s tow'rs;
igh *Teres*'s ſummits, and *Pityea*'s bow'rs;
om theſe the congregated troops obey
oung *Amphius* and *Adraſtus*' equal ſway;
ld *Merops*' ſons; whom, ſkill'd in fate to come,
he Sire forewarn'd, and propheſy'd their doom:
te urg'd them on! the fire forewarn'd in vain,
hey ruſh'd to war, and periſh'd on the plain.
From *Practius*' ſtream, *Percote*'s paſture lands,
nd *Seſtos* and *Abydos*' neighb'ring ſtrands,
om great *Ariſba*'s walls and *Selle*'s coaſt,
ſius *Hyrtacides* conducts his hoſt:
igh on his car he ſhakes the flowing reins,
is fiery courſers thunder o'er the plains.
The fierce *Pelaſgi* next, in war renown'd,
arch from *Ariſſa*'s ever-fertile ground:
equal arms their brother leaders ſhine,
ippothous bold, and *Pyleus* the divine.

ſ. 1012. *From* Practius' *ſtream*, Percote's *paſture lands.*] *Homer* does not expreſly mention *Practius* as a river, but *Strabo*, l. 13. tell us it is to be underſtood ſo in this paſſage. The appellative of paſture lands to *Percote* is juſtify'd in the 15th *Odyſſ.* ſ. 646. where *Melampippus* the ſon of *Hiſtiaon* is ſaid to feed his oxen in that place.

Next

Next *Acamas* and *Pyrous* lead their hoſts
In dread array, from *Thracia*'s wintry coaſts;
Round the bleak realms where *Helleſpontus* roars,
And *Boreas* beats the hoarſe-reſounding ſhores.
With great *Euphemus* the *Ciconians* move,
Sprung from *Trœzenian Ceus*, lov'd by *Jove*.
Pyrachmes the *Paonian* troops attend,
Skill'd in the fight their crooked bows to bend;
From *Axius*' ample bed he leads them on,
Axius, that laves the diſtant *Amydon*,
Axius, that ſwells with all his neighb'ring rills,
And wide around the floated region fills.
The *Paphlagonians Pylamenes* rules,
Where rich *Henetia* breeds her ſavage mules,
Where *Erythinus*' riſing clifts are ſeen,
Thy groves of box, *Cyterus!* ever green;
And where *Ægialus* and *Cromna* lie,
And lofty *Seſamus* invades the ſky;

¥. 1032. Axius, *that ſwells with all his neighb'ring rills*] cording to the common reading this verſe ſhould be tranſla Axius *that diffuſes his beautiful waters over the land*. But we are red by *Strabo* that *Axius* was a muddy river, and that the anc underſtood it thus: Axius *that receives into it ſeveral beau rivers*. The criticiſm lies in the laſt word of the verſe, which *Strabo* reads Ἄιος, and interprets of the river Ἄξα, w waters were pour'd into *Axius*. However *Homer* deſcribes river agreeable to the vulgar reading in *Il.* 21. ¥. 158. ὃ ῥ' ἁλλίσσετο ὕδωρ ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἅπαν. This verſion takes in bo

And where *Parthenius* roll'd thro' banks of flow'rs,
Reflects her bord'ring palaces and bow'rs.
Here march'd in arms the *Halizonian* band,
Whom *Odius* and *Epistrophus* command,
From those far regions where the sun refines
The ripening silver in *Alybean* mines.
There, mighty *Chromis* led the *Mysian* train,
And Augur *Ennomus*, inspir'd in vain,
For stern *Achilles* lopt his sacred head,
Roll'd down *Scamander* with the vulgar dead.
Phorcys and brave *Ascanius* here unite,
Th' *Ascanian Phrygians*, eager for the fight.
Of those who round *Maonia*'s realms reside,
Or whom the vales in shade of *Tmolus* hide,
Mestles and *Antiphus* the charge partake;
Born on the banks of *Gyges*' silent lake.
There, from the fields where wild *Meander* flows,
High *Mycale*, and *Latmos*' shady brows,
And proud *Miletus*, came the *Carian* throngs,
With mingled clamors, and with barb'rous tongues.
Amphimachus and *Nastes* guide the train,
Nastes the bold, *Amphimachus* the vain,
Who trick'd with gold, and glitt'ring on his car,
Rode like a Woman to the field of war.

Fool that he was! by fierce *Achilles* ſlain,
The river ſwept him to the briny main:
There whelm'd with waves the gawdy warrior lies;
The valiant victor ſeiz'd the golden prize.
The forces laſt in fair array ſucceed,
Which blameleſs *Glaucus* and *Sarpedon* lead;
The warlike bands that diſtant *Lycia* yields,
Where gulphy *Xanthus* foams along the fields.

OBSERVATIONS *on the* CATALOGUE.

IF we look upon this piece with an eye to ancient learning, it may be obſerv'd, that however fabulous the other parts of *Homer*'s poem may be, according to the nature of Epic poetry; this account of the people, princes and countries, is purely hiſtorical, founded on the real tranſactions of thoſe times, and by far the moſt valuable peice of hiſtory and geography left us concerning the ſtate of *Greece* in that early period. *Greece* was then divided into ſeveral Dynaſties, which our Author has enumerated under their reſpective princes; and his diviſion was look'd upon ſo exact, that we are told of many controverſies concerning the boundaries of *Grecian* cities, which have been decided upon the authority of this piece. *Euſtathius* has collected together the following inſtances. The city of *Calydon* was adjudg'd to the *Aetolians* notwithſtanding the pretenſions of *Aeolia*, becauſe *Homer* had rank'd it among the towns belonging to the former. *Seſtos* was given to thoſe of *Abydos*, upon the plea that he had ſaid the *Abydenians* were poſſeſſors of *Seſtos*, *Abydos*, and *Arisbe*. When the *Mileſians* and people of *Pirene* diſputed their claim to *Mycale*, a verſe of *Homer* carry'd it in favour of the *Mileſians*. And the *Athenians* were put in poſſeſſion of *Salamis* by another which was cited by *Solon*, or (as ſome think) interpolated by him for that purpoſe. Nay in ſo high eſtimation has this catalogue been held, that (as *Porphyry* has written) there have been laws in ſome nations for the youth to learn it by heart, and particularly *Cerdias* (whom *Cuperus de Apoth. Homer.* takes to be *Cercyas*, a Lawgiver of the *Megalopolitans*) made it one to his countrymen.

But if we conſider the catalogue purely as poetical, it will not want its beauties in that light. *Rapin*, who was none of the moſt ſuperſtitious admirers of our Author, reckons it among thoſe parts which had particularly charm'd him. We may obſerve firſt, what an air of probability is ſpread over the whole poem by the particularizing of every nation and people concern'd in this war. Secondly, what an entertaining ſcene it preſents to us, of ſo many countries drawn in their liveſt and moſt natural colours, while we wander along with him amidſt a beautiful variety of towns, havens, foreſts,

vineyards, groves, mountains, and rivers; and are perpetually amus'd with his obſervations on the different ſoils, products, ſituations, or proſpects. Thirdly, what a noble review he paſſes before us of ſo mighty an army, drawn out in order troop by troop; which, had the number only been told in the groſs, had never fill'd the reader with ſo great a notion of the importance of the action. Fourthly, the deſcription of the differing arms and manner of fighting of the ſoldiers, and the various attitudes he has given to the commanders: Of theſe leaders, the greateſt part are either the immediate ſons of Gods, or the deſcendents of Gods; and how great an idea muſt we have of a war, to the waging of which ſo many Demi-gods and heroes are aſſembled? Fifthly, the ſeveral artful complements he paid by this means to his own country in general, and many of his contemporaries in particular, by a celebration of the genealogies, ancient ſeats, and dominions of the great men of his time. Sixthly, the agreeable mixture of narrations from paſſages of hiſtory or Fables, with which he amuſes and relieves us at proper intervals. And laſtly, the admirable judgment wherewith he introduces this whole catalogue, juſt at a time when the poſture of affairs in the army render'd ſuch a review of abſolute neceſſity to the *Greeks*; and in a pauſe of action, while each was refreſhing himſelf to prepare for the enſuing battels.

Macrobius in his *Saturnalia*, *lib.* 5. *cap.* 15. has given us a judicious piece of criticiſm, in the compariſon betwixt the catalogues of *Homer* and of *Virgil*, in which he juſtly allows the preference to our Author, for the following reaſons. *Homer* (ſays he) has begun his deſcription from the moſt noted promontory of *Greece* (he means that of *Aulis*, where was the narroweſt paſſage to *Eubœa*.) From thence with a regular progreſs he deſcribes either the maritime or mediterranean towns, as their ſituations are contiguous: He never paſſes with ſudden leaps from place to place, omitting thoſe which lie between; but proceeding like a traveller in the way he has begun, conſtantly returns to the place from whence he digreſs'd, till he finiſhes the whole circle he deſign'd. *Virgil*, on the contrary, has obſerv'd no order in the regions deſcrib'd in his catalogue, *l.* 10. but is perpetually breaking from the courſe of the country in a looſe and deſultory manner. You have *Clauſus* and *Coſa* at the beginning, next *Populonia* and *Ilva*, then *Piſa* which lie at a vaſt diſtance in *Etruria*; and immediately after *Crete*, *Pyrgi*, and *Graviſcæ*, places adjacent to *Rome*: From hence he is ſnatch'd to *Liguria*, then to *Mantua*. The ſame

neg-

negligence is obſervable in his enumeration of the aids that follow'd *Turnus* in *l.* 7. *Macrobius* next remarks, that all the perſons who are nam'd by *Homer* in his catalogue, are afterwards introduc'd in his battels, and whenever any others are kill'd, he mentions only a multitude in general. Whereas *Virgil* (he continues) has ſpar'd himſelf the labour of that exactneſs; for not only ſeveral whom he mentions in the liſt, are never heard of in the war, but others make a figure in the war, of whom we had no notice in the liſt For example, he ſpecifies a thouſand men under *Maſſicus* who came from *Cluſium*, *l.* 10. ℣. 167. *Turnus* ſoon afterwards is in the ſhip which had carry'd King *Oſinius* from the ſame place, *l.* 10. ℣. 655. This *Oſinius* was never nam'd before, nor is it probable a King ſhould ſerve under *Maſſicus*. Nor indeed does either *Maſſicus* or *Oſinius* ever make their appearance in the battels—He proceeds to inſtance ſeveral others, who tho' celebrated for heroes in the catalogue, have no farther notice taken of them throughout the poem. In the third place he animandverts upon the confuſion of the ſame names in *Virgil*: As where *Corinæus* in the ninth book is kill'd by *Aſylas*, ℣. 571. and *Corinæus* in the twelfth kills *Ebuſus*, ℣. 298. *Numa* is ſlain by *Niſus*, *l.* 9. ℣. 554. and *Æneas* is afterwards in purſuit of *Numa*, *l.* 10. ℣. 562. *Æneas* kills *Camertes* in the tenth book, ℣. 562. and *Juturna* aſſumes his ſhape in the twelfth, ℣. 224. He obſerves the ſame obſcurity in his *Patronymics*. There is *Palinurus Iaſides*, and *Iapix Iaſides*, *Hippocoon Hyrtacides*, and *Aſylas Hyrtacides*. On the contrary, the caution of *Homer* is remarkable, who having two of the name of *Ajax*, is conſtantly careful to diſtinguiſh them by *Oïleus* or *Telamonius*, the *leſſer* or the *greater Ajax*.

I know nothing to be alledg'd in defence of *Virgil*, in anſwer to this author, but the common excuſe that his *Æneis* was left unfiniſh'd. And upon the whole, theſe are ſuch trivial ſlips, as great Wits may paſs over, and little Criticks rejoice at.

But *Macrobius* has another remark, which one may accuſe of evident partiality on the ſide of *Homer*. He blames *Virgil* for having vary'd the expreſſion in his catalogue, to avoid the repetition of the ſame words, and prefers the bare and unadorn'd reiterations of *Homer*; who begins almoſt every article the ſame way, and ends perpetually, Μέλαιναι νῆες ἕποντο, *&c.* Perhaps the beſt reaſon to be given for this, had been the artleſs manner of the firſt times, when ſuch repetitions were not thought ungraceful. This may appear from ſeveral of the like nature in the ſcripture; as in the twenty ſixth

chapter of *Numbers*, where the tribes of *Iſrael* are enumerated in the plains of *Moab*, and each diviſion recounted in the ſame words. So in the ſeventh chapter of the *Revelations: Of the tribe of* Gad *were ſeal'd twelve thouſand, &c.* But the words of *Marobius* are *Has copias fortaſſe putat aliquis divina illi ſimplicitati præferendas. Sed neſcio quo modo Homerum repetitio illa unicè decet, & eſt genio antiqui Poetæ digna.* This is exactly in the ſpirit, and almoſt in the cant, of a true modern critick. The *Simplicity*, the *Neſcio quo modo*, the *Genio antiqui Poetæ digna*, are excellent general phraſes for thoſe who have no reaſons. *Simplicity* is our word of diſguiſe for a ſhameful unpoetical neglect of expreſſion: The term of the *Je ne ſçay quoy* is the very ſupport of all ignorant pretenders to delicacy; and to lift up our eyes, and talk of the *Genius of an ancient*, is at once the cheapeſt way of ſhewing our own taſte, and the ſhorteſt way of criticizing the wit of others our contemporaries.

One may add to the foregoing compariſon of theſe two authors, ſome reaſons for the length of *Homer*'s, and the ſhortneſs of *Virgil*'s catalogues. As, that *Homer* might have a deſign to ſettle the geography of his country, there being no deſcription of *Greece* before his days; which was not the caſe with *Virgil*. *Homer*'s concern was to complement *Greece* at a time when it was divided into many diſtinct ſtates, each of which might expect a place in his catalogue: But when all *Italy* was ſwallow'd up in the ſole dominion of *Rome*, *Virgil* had only *Rome* to celebrate. *Homer* had a numerous army, and was to deſcribe an important war with great and various events, whereas *Virgil*'s ſphere was much more confin'd. The ſhips of the *Greeks* were computed at about one thouſand two hundred, thoſe of *Æneas* and his aids but at two and forty; and as the time of the action of both poems is the ſame, we may ſuppoſe the built of their ſhips, and the number of men they contain'd, to be much alike. So that if the army of *Homer* amounts to about a hundred thouſand men, that of *Virgil* cannot be above four thouſand. If any one be farther curious to know upon what this computation is founded, he may ſee it in the following paſſage of *Thucydides*, *lib.* 1. "*Homer*'s fleet "(ſays he) conſiſted of one thouſand two hundred veſſels: "thoſe of the *Bœotians* carry'd one hundred and twenty men "in each, and thoſe of *Philoctetes* fifty. By theſe I ſuppoſe "*Homer* expreſt the largeſt and the ſmalleſt ſize of ſhips, "and therefore mentions no other ſort. But he tells us of "thoſe who ſail'd with *Philoctetes*, that they ſerv'd both as "mariners and ſoldiers, in ſaying the rowers were all of them

"archers,

" archers. From hence the whole number will be ſeen, if we " eſtimate the ſhips at a medium between the greateſt and " the leaſt. " That is to ſay, at eighty five men to each veſſel (which is the mean between fifty and a hundred and twenty) the total comes to a hundred and two thouſand men. *Plutarch* was therefore in a miſtake, when he computed the men at a hundred and twenty thouſand, which proceeded from his ſuppoſing a hundred and twenty in every ſhip; the contrary to which appears from the above-mention'd ſhips of *Philoctetes*, as well as from thoſe of *Achilles*, which are ſaid to carry but fifty men a-piece, in the ſixteenth *Iliad*. ℣. 207.

Beſides *Virgil*'s imitation of this catalogue, there has ſcarce been any Epic writer but has copy'd after it; which is at leaſt a proof how beautiful this part has been ever eſteem'd by the fineſt genius's in all ages. The catalogues in the ancient Poets are generally known, only I muſt take notice that the *Phocian* and *Bœotian* towns in the fourth *Thebaid* of *Statius* are tranſlated from hence. Of the moderns, thoſe who moſt excel, owe their beauty to the imitation of ſome ſingle particular only of *Homer*. Thus the chief grace of *Taſſo*'s catalogue conſiſts in the deſcription of the heroes, without any thing remarkable on the ſide of the countries: Of the pieces of ſtory he has interwoven, that of *Tancred*'s amour to *Clorinda* is ill placed, and evidently too long for the reſt. *Spenſer*'s enumeration of the *Britiſh* and *Iriſh rivers* in the eleventh canto of his fourth book, is one of the nobleſt in the world: if we conſider his ſubject was more confin'd, and can excuſe his not obſerving the order or courſe of the country; but his variety of deſcription, and fruitfulneſs of imagination, are no where more admirable than in that part. *Milton*'s liſt of the fallen angels in his firſt book is an exact imitation of *Homer*, as far as regards the digreſſions of hiſtory, and antiquities, and his manner of inſerting them: In all elſe I believe it muſt be allow'd inferior. And indeed what *Marobius* has ſaid to caſt *Virgil* below *Homer*, will fall much more ſtrongly upon all the reſt.

I had ſome cauſe to fear that this catalogue, which contributed ſo much to the ſucceſs of the Author, ſhould ruin that of the Tranſlator. A mere heap of proper names, tho' but for a few lines together, could afford little entertainment to an *Engliſh* reader, who probably could not be appriz'd either of the neceſſity or beauty of this part of the Poem. There were but two things to be done to give it a chance to pleaſe him; to render the verſification very flowing and muſical, and to

make the whole appear as much a *landscape* or *piece of painting* as possible. For both of these I had the example of *Homer* in general; and *Virgil*, who found the necessity in another age to give more into description, seem'd to authorise the latter in particular. *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus*, in his discourse of the *Structure and disposition of words*, professes to admire nothing more than that harmonious exactness with which *Homer* has placed these words, and soften'd the syllables into each other, so as to derive musick from a croud of names, which have in themselves no beauty or dignity. I would flatter myself that I have practis'd this not unsuccessfully in our language, which is more susceptible of all the variety and power of numbers, than any of the modern, and second to none but the *Greek* and *Roman*. For the latter point, I have ventur'd to open the prospect a little, by the addition of a few epithets or short hints of description to some of the places mention'd; tho' seldom exceeding the compass of half a verse (the space to which my Author himself generally confines these pictures in miniature.) But this has never been done without the best authorities from the ancients, which may be seen under the respective names in the Geographical Table following.

The table itself I thought but necessary to annex to the map, as my warrant for the situations assign'd in it to several of the towns. For in whatever maps I have seen to this purpose, many of the places are omitted, or else set down at random. *Sophianus* and *Gerbelius* have labour'd to settle the geography of old *Greece*, many of whose mistakes were rectify'd by *Laurenbergius*. These however deserv'd a greater commendation than those who succeeded them; and particularly *Sanson*'s map prefix'd to *Du Pin's Bibliotheque Historique*, is miserably defective both in omissions and false placings; which I am obliged to mention, as it pretends to be designed expressly for this catalogue of *Homer*. I am persuaded the greater part of my readers will have no curiosity this way, however they may allow me the endeavour of gratifying those few who have. The rest are at liberry to pass the two or three following leaves unread.

A GEOGRA-

A GEOGRAPHICAL TABLE *of the Towns, &c. in* HOMER's *Catalogue of* Greece, *with the Authorities for their ſituation, as placed in this Map.*

BOEOTIA, *under five Captains,* Peneleus, *&c. containing,*

AVLIS, a haven on the *Euboean* ſea oppoſite to *Chalcis*, where the paſſage to *Euboea* is narroweſt. *Strabo, lib. 9.*

Eteon, *Homer* deſcribes it a hilly countrey, and *Statius* after him—*denſamque jugis Eteonen iniquis. Theb. 7.*

Hyrie, a town and lake of the ſame name, belonging to the territory of *Tanagra* or *Graa. Strab. l. 9.*

Schœnus, it lay in the road between *Thebes* and *Anthedon*, 30 ſtadia from *Thebes. Strab. Ibid.*

Scholos, a town under mount *Cytheron. Ibid.*

Theſpia, near *Haliartus* under mount *Helicon. Pauſ. Bœot.* Near the *Corinthian* bay. *Strab. l. 9.*

Graa, the ſame with *Tanagra*, 30 ſtadia from *Aulis*, on the *Euboean* ſea; by this place the river *Aſopus* falls into that ſea. *Ibid.*

Mycaleſſus, between *Thebes* and *Chalcis. Pauſ. Bœot.* Near *Tanagra* or *Graa. Strab. l. 9.* Famous for its pine-trees.—*Pinigeris Mycaleſſus in agris. Statius, l. 7.*

Harma, cloſe by *Mycaleſſus. Strab. l. 9.* This town as well as the former lay near the road from *Thebes* to *Chalcis. Pauſ. Bœot.* It was here that *Amphiaraus* was ſwallow'd by the earth in his chariot, from whence it receiv'd its name. *Strab. Ibid.*

Ileſion, it was ſituate in the fens near *Heleon* and *Hyle*, not far from *Tanagra*. Theſe three

places took their names from being ſo ſeated (Ἕλος, *Palus.*) *Strab. l. 9.*

Erythræ, in the confines of *Attica* near *Platæa*. *Thucyd. l. 3.*——*dites pecorum comitantur Erythræ. Stat. Theb. 7.*

Peteon, in the way from *Thebes* to *Anthedon*. *Strab. l. 9.*

Ocalea, in the mid-way, betwixt *Haliartus* and *Alalcomenes*. *Ibid.*

Medeon, near *Oncheſtus*. *Ibid.*

Copa, a town on the lake *Copais*, by the river *Cephiſſus*, next *Orchomenus*. *Ibid.*

Eutreſis, a ſmall town of the *Theſpians* near *Thisbe*. *Ibid.*

Thisbe, under mount *Helicon*. *Pauſ. Bœot.*

Coronea, ſeated on the *Cephiſſus*, where it falls into the lake *Copais*. *Strab. l. 9.*

Haliartus, on the ſame lake, *Strab. Ibid.* Bordering on *Coronea* and *Platæa*. *Pauſ. Bœot.*

Platæa, between *Citheron* and *Thebes*, divided from the latter by the river *Aſopus*. *Strab. l. 9. Virideſque Plataas. Stat. Th. 7.*

Gliſſa, in the territory of *Thebes*, abounding with Vines. *Baccho Gliſanta colentes. Stat. Th. 7.*

Thebe, ſituate between the rivers *Iſmenus* and *Aſopus*. *Strab. l. 9.*

Oncheſtus, on the lake *Copais*. The grove conſecrated to *Neptune* in this place, and celebrated by *Homer*, together with a temple and ſtatue of that God, were ſhewn in the time of *Pauſanias*. *Vide Bœot.*

Arne, ſeated on the ſame lake, famous for vines. *Strab. Hom.*

Midea, on the ſame lake. *Ibid.*

Niſſa, or *Nyſa* (*apud Statium*) or according to *Strabo*, *Iſa*; near *Anthedon*.

Anthedon, a city on the ſea-ſide oppoſite to *Eubœa*, the utmoſt on the ſhore towards *Locris*. *Strab. l. 9. Tequè ultima traſſis Anthedon. Statius, l. 7.*

Aſpledon, 20 ſtadia from *Orchomenus*. *Strab. l. 9.*

Orchomenus, and the plains about it, being the moſt ſpacious of all in *Bœotia*. (*Plutarch in vit. Sylla*, circa medium.) *Homer* diſtinguiſhes theſe two laſt from the reſt of *Bœotia*. They were commanded by *Aſcalaphus* and *Ialmen*.

PHOCIS, *under* Schedius *and* Epiſtrophus, *containing*,

Cyparíſſus, the ſame with *Anticyrrha* according to *Pauſanias*, on the bay of *Corinth*.

Pytho, adjoining to *Parnaſſus*: ſome think it the ſame with *Delphi*. *Pauſan. Phocic.*

Criſ-

Criſſa, a ſea-town on the bay of *Corinth* near *Cyrrha*. *Strab. l.* 9.

Daulis, upon the *Cephiſſus* at the foot of *Parnaſſus*. *Ibid.*

Panopea, upon the ſame river, adjoining to *Orchomenia*, juſt by *Hyampolis* or *Anemoria*. *Ibid.*

Hyampolis, *Anemoria*, { both the ſame according to *Strabo*. *Ibid.* Confining upon *Locris*. *Pauſ. Phoc.*

Lilæa, at the head of the river *Cephiſſus*, juſt on the edge of *Phocis*. *Ibid.*—*propellentemque Lilæam Cephiſſi glaciale caput*. *Stat. l.* 7.

LOCRIS, *under* Ajax Oïleus, *containing*,

Cynus, a maritime town towards *Eubœa*. *Strab. l.* 9.

Opus, a *Locrian* city, 15 ſtadia from the ſea, adjacent to *Panopea* in *Phocis*. *Ibid.*

Calliarus.

Beſſa, ſo called from being cover'd with ſhrubs. *Strab. l.* 9.

Scarphe, ſeated between *Thronium* and *Thermopyla*, ten ſtadia from the ſea. *Ibid.*

Augia.

Tarphe.

Thronius, on the *Melian* bay. *Strab. l.* 9.

Boagrius, a river that paſſes by *Thronius*, and runs into the bay of *OEta*, between *Cynus* and *Scarphe*. *Ibid.*

All theſe oppoſite to the iſle of *Eubœa*.

EUBOEA, *under* Elephenor, *containing*,

Chalcis, the city neareſt to the continent of *Greece*, juſt oppoſite to *Aulis* in *Bœotia*. *Strab. l.* 10.

Eretria, between *Chalcis* and *Gereſtus*. *Ibid.*

Hiſtiæa, a town with vineyards over againſt *Theſſaly*. *Herod. l.* 7.

Cerinthus, on the ſea-ſhore. *Hom.* Near the river *Budorus*. *Strab. l.* 10.

Dios, ſeated high. *Hom.* Near *Hiſtiæa*. *Strab. Ibid.*

Caryſtos, a city at the foot of the mountain *Ocha*. *Strab. Ibid.* Between *Eretria* and *Gereſtus*. *Ptolem. l.* 3.

Styra, a town near *Caryſtos*. *Strab. Ibid.*

ATHENS, *under* Meneſtheus.

The Iſle of SALAMIS, *under* Ajax Telamon.

PELOPONNESUS, *the Eaſt Part divided into* Argia *and* Mycenæ, *under* Agamemnon, *contains*,

Argos, 40 ſtadia from the ſea. *Pauſ. Corin.*

Tirynthe, between *Argos* and *Epidaurus*, *Ibid.*

Aſine, *Hermion*, *Trœzene*, } Three cities lying in this order on the bay of *Hermione*. *Strab. l.* 8. *Pauſ. Corinth.* *Trœzene* was ſeated high, and *Aſine* a rocky coaſt. —— *Altaq; Trœzene. Ovid. Faſt.* 2. —— *Quos Aſine cautes. Lucan. l.* 8.

Eionæ was on the ſea-ſide, for *Strabo* tells us the people of *Mycenæ* made it a ſtation for their ſhips, *lib.* 8.

Epidaurus, a town and little iſland adjoining, in the inner part of the *Saronic* bay. *Strab. l.* 8. It was fruitful in vines in *Homer*'s time.

The iſle of *Ægina*, over againſt *Epidaurus*.

Maſeta belongs to the *Argolic* ſhore according to *Strabo*, who obſerves that *Homer* names it not in the exact order, placing it with *Ægina*. *Strab. l.* 8.

Mycenæ, between *Cleone* and *Argos*. *Str. Pauſan.*

Corinth, near the *Iſthmus*.

Cleone, between *Argos* and *Corinth*. *Pauſ. Corinth.*

Ornia, on the borders of *Sicyonia*. *Ibid.*

Arethyria, the ſame with *Phliaſia*, at the ſource of the *Achaian Aſopus*. *Strab. l.* 8.

Sicyon, (anciently the kingdom of *Adraſtus*) betwixt *Corinth* and *Achaia*. *Pauſ. Corinth.*

Hypereſia, the ſame with *Ægira*, ſays *Pauſan. Achaic.* Seated betwixt *Pellene* and *Helice*. *Strab. l.* 8. Oppoſite to *Parnaſſus*, *Polyb. l.* 4.

Gonoeſſa, *Homer* deſcribes it ſituate very high; and *Servius*, *Troas*, *Cares nunquam Gonuſſa vento.*

Pellene, bordering on *Sicyon* and *Pheneus*, 60 ſtadia from the ſea. *Pauſ. Arcad.* Celebrated anciently for its wool. *Strab. l.* 8. *Jul. Poll.*

Ægium, *Helice*, } Next *Sycyon* lies *Pellene*, *&c.* then *Helice*, and next to *Helice*, *Ægium*. *Strab. l.* 8. *Helice* lies on the ſea-ſide, 40 ſtadia from *Ægium*. *Pauſ. Ach.*

The West part of PELOPONNESUS, *divided into* Laconia, Meſſenia, Arcadia, *and* Elis.

LACONIA, *under* Menelaus, *containing*,

Sparta, the capital city, on the river *Eurotas*.

Phares, on the bay of *Meſſenia*, *Strab. l.* 8.

Meſſa, *Strabo* thinks this a contraction of *Meſſena*, and *Statius* in his imitation of this catalogue, *lib.* 4. calls it ſo.

Bryſia, under mount *Taygetus*. *Pauſ. Lacon.*

Augia, the ſame with *Aegia* in the opinion of *Pauſanias* (*Lacanitis*) 30 ſtadia from *Gythium*.

Amyclæ, 20 ſtadia from *Sparta* toward the ſea. *Ptol. l.* 4. under the mountain *Taygetus*. *Strab. l.* 8.

Helos, on the ſea-ſide. *Hom.* Upon the river *Eurotas*. *Strab. Ibid.*

Laas,

OEtylos, near the promontory of *Tænarus*. *Pauſ. Lac.*

MESSENIA, *under* Neſtor, *containing*,

Pylos, the city of *Neſtor* on the ſea-ſhore.

Arene, ſeated near the river *Minyeius*. *Hom.* Il. 11. *Strab. l.* 8.

Thryon, on the river *Alpheus*, the ſame which *Homer* elſewhere calls *Thryoëſſa*. *Strab. Ibid.*

Æpy, the ancient Geographers differ about the ſituation of this town, but agree to place it near the ſea. *Vide Strab. l.* 8. ——— *Summis ingeſtum montibus Æpy*. *Stat. l.* 4.

Cypariſſie, on the borders of *Meſſenia*, and upon the bay called from it *Cyparitſaus*. *Pauſ. Meſſen.*

Amphigenia, ——— *Fertilis Amphigenia*. *Stat. Th.* 4. near the former. So alſo *Pteleon*, which was built by a colony from *Pteleon* in *Theſſaly*. *Strab. l.* 8.

Helos, near the river *Alpheus*. *Ibid.*

Dorion, a field or mountain near the ſea. *Ibid.*

ARAC-

ARCADIA, *under* Agapenor, *containing*,

The mountain *Cyllene*, the higheſt of *Peloponneſus*, on the borders of *Achaia* and *Arcadia*, near *Pheneus*. *Pauſ. Arcad.* Under this ſtood the tomb of *Æpytus*. That monument (the ſame author tells us) was remaining in his time, it was only a heap of earth inclos'd with a wall of rough ſtone.

Pheneus, confining on *Pellene* and *Stymphelus*. *Ibid.*

Orchomenus, confining on *Pheneus* and *Mantinæa*. *Ibid.*

Ripe, *Stratie*, *Eniſpe*, } Theſe three, *Strabo* tells us are not to be found, nor their ſituation aſſign'd. *lib. 8. prope fin.* *Eniſpe* ſtood high, as appears from *Homer*, and *Statius l. 4. Vertoſaque donat Eniſpe.*

Tegea, between *Argos* and *Sparta*. *Polyb. l. 4.*

Mantinæa, bordering upon *Tegea*, *Argia*, and *Orchomenus*. *Pauſ. Arcad.*

Stymphelus, confining on *Phlyaſia* or *Arethyria*. *Strab. l. 8.*

Parrhaſia, adjoining to *Laconia*. *Thucyd. l. 5.* — *Parrhaſiaque nives*. *Ovid. Faſt. 2.*

ELIS, *under four Leaders*, Amphimachus, *&c. containing*,

The city *Elis*, 120 ſtadia from the ſea. *Pauſ. Eliacis 2.*

Bupraſium near *Elis*. *Strab. l. 8.*

The places bounded by the fields of *Hyrmine*, in the territory of *Elis*, between mount *Cyllene* and the ſea.

Myrſinus, on the ſea-ſide, 70 ſtadia from *Elis*. *Strab. l. 8.*

The *Olenian Rocks*, which ſtood near the city *Olenos*, at the mouth of the river *Pierus*. *Pauſ. Achaic.*

And *Alyſium*, the name of a town or river, in the way from *Elis* to *Piſa*. *Strab. l. 8.*

The ISLES *over againſt the Continent of* Elis, Achaia, *or* Acarnania.

Echinades and *Dulichium*, under *Meges*,

The *Cephalenians* under *Ulyſſes*, being thoſe from *Samos*, (the

(the ſame with *Cephalenia*,) from *Zacynthus*, *Grocylia*, *Ægilipa*, *Neritus*, and *Ithaca*. This laſt is generally ſuppos'd to be the largeſt of theſe iſlands on the eaſt ſide of *Cephalenia*, and next to it; but that is, according to *Wheeler*, 20 *Italian* miles in circumference, whereas *Strabo* gives *Ithaca* but 80 ſtadia about. It was rather one of the leſſer iſlands toward the mouth of the *Achelous*.

Homer adds to theſe places under the dominion of *Ulyſſes*, *Epirus* and the oppoſite Continent, by which (as M. *Dacier* obſerves) cannot be meant *Epirus* properly ſo call'd, which was never ſubject to *Ulyſſes*, but only the ſea-coaſt of *Acarnania*, oppoſite to the iſlands.

The Continent of ACARNANIA *and* ÆTOLIA, *under* Thoas.

Pleuron, ſeated between *Chalcis* and *Calydon*, by the ſea-ſhore upon the river *Evenus*, Weſt of *Chalcis*. *Strab. l.* 10.

Olenus, lying above *Calydon*, with the *Evenus* on the Eaſt of it. *Ibid.*

Pylene, the ſame with *Proſchion*, not far from *Pleuron*, but more in the land. *Strab. l.* 10.

Chalcis, a ſea-town. *Hom.* Situate on the Eaſt ſide of the *Evenus*. *Strab. Ibid.* There was another *Chalcis* at the head of the *Evenus*, call'd by *Strabo Hypo-Chalcis*.

Calydon, on the *Evenus* alſo.

The Iſle of CRETE, *under* Idomeneus, *containing*,

Gnoſſus, ſeated in the plain between *Lyctus* and *Gortyna*, 120 ſtad. from *Lyctus*. *Strab. l.* 10.

Gortyna, 90 ſtad. from the *African* ſea. *Ibid.*

Lyctus, 80 ſtad. from the ſame ſea. *Ibid.*

Miletus,

Phaſtus, 60 ſtad. from *Gortyna*, 20 from the ſea, under *Gortyna*. *Strab. Ibid.* It lay on the river *Jordan*, as appears by *Homer*'s deſcription of it in the third book of the *Odyſſey*.

Lycaſtus,

Rhytium, under *Gortyna*. *Strab.*

The

The Isle of RHODES, *under* Tlepolemus, *containing*,

Lindus, on the right hand to those who sail from the city *Rhodes*, Southward. *Strab. l.* 14.

Ialyssus, between *Camirus* and *Rhodes*. *Ibid.*

Camirus.

The Islands, Syma, (*under* Nireus,) Nisyrus, Carpathus, Casus, Cos, Calydnæ, *under* Antiphus *and* Phidippus.

The Continent of THESSALY *towards the* Ægean *sea*, *under* Achilles.

Argos Pelasgicum, (the same which was since called *Phthiotis*.) *Strabo l.* 9. says that some thought this the name of a town, others that *Homer* meant by it this part of *Thessaly* in general, (which last seems most probable.) *Steph. Byzant.* observes, there was a city *Argos* in *Thessaly*, as well as in *Peloponnesus*; the former was call'd *Pelasgic* in contradistinction to the *Achaian*: for tho' the *Pelasgi* possest several parts of *Epirus*, *Crete*, *Peloponnesus*, *&c.* yet they retain'd their principal seat in *Thessaly*. *Steph. Byz. in v. Panel.*

Alos, *Alope*, Both on the shore of *Thessaly* towards *Locris*. *Strab. l.* 9. *Alos* lies in the passage of mount *Othrys*. *Ib.*

Trechine, under the mountain *Oeta*. *Eustath. in Il.* 2.

Phthia, *Hellas*, Some suppos'd these two to be names of the same place, as *Strabo* says; this 'tis plain *Homer* distinguishes them. Whether they were cities or regions *Strabo* is not determin'd. *lib.* 9.

The *Hellenes*. This denomination, afterwards common to all the *Greeks*, is here to be understood only of those who inhabited *Phthiotis*. It was not 'till long after *Homer's* time that the people of other cities of *Greece* desiring assistance from these, began to have the same name from their communication with them, as *Thucydides* remarks in the beginning of his first book.

The

The following under Protesilaus.

Phylace, on the coast of *Phthiotis*, toward the *Melian* ay. *Strab. l.* 9.

Pyrrhasus, beyond the moun- in *Othrys*, had the grove of *es* within two ſtadia of it. *id.*

Itona, 60 ſtad. from *Alos*, it y higher in the land than *rrhasus*, above mount *Othrys*. *id.*

Antron, on the ſea-ſide. *om.* In the paſſage to *Eubœa*. *id.*

Pteleon, the ſituation of this own in *Strabo* ſeems to be between *Antron* and *Pyrrhasus*: But *Pliny* deſcribes it with great exactneſs to lie on the ſhore towards *Bœotia*, on the confines of *Phthiotis*, upon the river *Sperchius*; according to which particulars, it muſt have been ſeated as I have placed it. *Livy* alſo ſeats it on the *Sperchius*.

All thoſe towns which were under *Proteſilaus* (ſays *Strabo*, *lib.* 9.) being the five laſt mention'd, lay on the eaſtern ſide of the mountain *Othrys*.

Theſe under Eumelus.

Phera, in the fartheſt part f *Magneſia*, confining on ount *Pelion*. *Strab. l.* 9. Near e lake of *Bœbe*. *Ptol.* And lentifully water'd with the fountains of *Hyperia*. *Strab.*

Glaphyra,

Iolcos, a ſea-town on the *Pegaſæan* bay. *Livy l.* 4. and *Strab.*

Under Philoctetes.

Methone, a city of *Macedonia*, o ſtadia from *Pydna* in *Pieria*. *trab.*

Thaumacia, *Melibœa*, } In *Phthiotis* near *Pharſalus*, according to the ſame author. *Ibid.*

Olyzon. It ſeems that this place lay near *Bœbe*, *Iolcos*, and *Ormenium*, from *Strab. l.* 9. where he ſays, *Demetrius* cauſed the inhabitants of theſe towns to remove to *Demetrias*, on the ſame coaſt.

The Upper THESSALY.

The

The following under Podalirius *and* Machaon

Trice, or *Tricce*, not far from the mountain *Pindus*, on the left hand of the *Peneus*, as it runs from *Pindus*. *Strab. l. 9.*

Rhome, near *Tricca*. *Ibid.*

OEchalia, the situation certain, somewhere near the forementioned towns. *Strab. Ibid.*

Under Eurypylus.

Ormenium, under *Pelion*, on the *Pegaſaan* bay, near *Bebe*. *Ibid.*

Aſterium, hard by *Phera* *Titanus*. *Ibid.*

Under Polypœtes.

Argiſſa, lying upon the river *Peneus*. *Strab. l. 9.*

Gyrtone, a city of *Perrhabia*, at the foot of *Olympus*. *Ibid.*

Orthe, near *Peneus* and *Tempe*. *Ibid.*

Elope / *Oloeſſon*, } Both lying under *Olympus*, near the river *Titareſius*. *Ibid.*

Under Guneus *and* Prothous.

Cyphus, ſeated in the mountainous countrey, towards *Olympus*. *Ibid.*

Dodona, among the mountains towards *Olympus*. *Ibid.*

Titareſius, a river riſing in the mountain *Titarus* near *Olympus*, and running into *Peneus*. *Ibid.* 'Tis alſo called *Eurotas*.

The river *Peneus* riſes from mount *Pindus*, and flows through *Tempe* into the ſea. *Strab. l. 7.* and 9.

Pelion, near *Oſſa*, in *Magneſia*. *Herod. l. 7.*

A Tabl

A Table of TROY, and the Auxiliar COUNTRIES.

THE kingdom of *Priam* divided into eight dynasties.

1. *Troas*, under *Hector*, whose capital was *Ilion*.

2. *Dardania*, under *Æneas*, the capital *Dardanus*.

3. *Zelcia*, at the foot of *Ida*, by the *Æsepus*, under *Pandarus*.

4. *Adreſtia*, *Apæſus*, *Pityea*, mount *Tereo*, under *Adraſtus* and *Amphius*.

5. *Seſtos*, *Abydos*, *Arisbe* on the river *Selle*, *Percote* and *Practius*, under *Aſius*.

These places lay between *Troy* and the *Propontis*.

The other three dynasties were under *Mynes*, *Eetion*, and *Alteus*; the capital of the first was *Lyrneſſus*, of the second *Thebe* of *Cilicia*, of the third *Pedaſus* in *Lelegia*. *Homer* does not mention these in the catalogue, having been before destroy'd and depopulated by the *Greeks*.

The Auxiliar Nations.

The *Peleſgi*, under *Hippothous* and *Pylens*, whose capital was *Lariſſa*, near the place where *Cuma* was afterwards built. *Strab. l.* 13.

The *Thracians*, by the side of the *Helleſpont* opposite to *Troy*, under *Acamas* and *Pyrous*, and those of *Ciconia*, under *Euphemus*.

The *Paonians* from *Macedonia* and the river *Axius*, under *Pyrachmes*.

The *Paphlagonians*, under *Pylæmenes*. The *Halizonians*, under *Odius* and *Epiſtrophus*. The *Myſians*, under *Crœsus* and *Ennomus*. The *Phrygians* of *Aſcania*, under *Phorcys* and *Aſcanius*.

The *Mæonians*, under *Meſtles* and *Antiphus*, who inhabited under

under the mountain *Tmolus*.

The *Carians*, under *Nausites* and *Amphimachus*, from *Miletus*, the farthermoſt city of *Caria* toward the South. *Herodot. l.* 1.

Mycale, a mountain and promontory oppoſite to *Samos*. *Ibid.*

Bithiron, the ſame mountain as *Latmos*, according to *Ptolemy*.

The *Lycians*, under *Sarpedon* and *Glaucus*, from the banks of the river *Xanthus* which runs into the ſea between *Rhodes* and *Cyprus*. *Homer* mentions it to diſtinguiſh this *Lycia* from that which lies on the *Propontis*.

THE

After a Solemn Treaty between the Greeks *and* Trojans, Menelau
Paris *engage in a single Combat, Paris ready sink under the blows*
Menelaus, *is suddenly relieved by* Venus, *who carries him awa*
to Troy *in a Cloud.*

THE THIRD BOOK OF THE ILIAD.

THE

The ARGUMENT.

The Duel of *Menelaus* and *Paris*.

THE Armies being ready to engage, a ſingle combate is agreed upon between Menelaus *and* Paris *(by the intervention of* Hector*) for the determination of the war.* Iris *is ſent to call* Helena *to behold the fight. She leads her to the walls of* Troy, *where* Priam *ſits with his counſellors obſerving the* Grecian *leaders on the plain below, to whom* Helen *gives an account of the chief of them. The Kings on either part take the ſolemn oath for the conditions of the combate. The duel enſues wherein* Paris *being overcome, is ſnatch'd away in a cloud by* Venus, *and tranſported to his apartment. She then calls* Helen *from the walls, and brings the lovers together.* Agamemnon *on the part of the* Grecians, *demands the reſtoration of* Helen, *and the performance of the articles.*

The three and twentieth day ſtill continues throughout this book. The ſcene *is ſometimes in the* fields *before* Troy, *and ſometimes in* Troy *itſelf.*

THE

*THIRD BOOK

OF THE

ILIAD.

THUS by their leader's care each martial band
Moves into ranks, and ſtretches o'er the land.
With ſhouts the *Trojans* ruſhing from far,
Proclaim their motions, and provoke the war:
So

* Of all the books of the *Iliad*, there is ſcarce any more pleaſing than the third. It may be divided into five parts, each of which has a beauty different from the other. The firſt contains what paſs'd before the two armies, and the proſpect of the combate between *Paris* and *Menelaus*: The attention and ſuſpenſe of theſe mighty hoſts, which were juſt upon the

So when inclement winters vex the plain
With piercing frosts, or thick-descending rain,

the point of joining battel, and the lofty manner of offer
and accepting this important and unexpected challenge, h
something in them wonderfully pompous, and of an amus
solemnity. The second part, which describes the behavi
of *Helena* in this juncture, her conference with the old K
and his counsellors, with the review of the heroes from t
battlements, is an episode entirely of another sort, which e
cels in the natural and pathetick. The third consists of t
ceremonies of the oath on both sides, and the preliminar
to the combate; with the beautiful retreat of *Priam*, who
the tenderness of a parent withdraws from the sight of t
duel: These particulars detain the reader in expectation, a
heighten his impatience for the fight itself. The fourth
the description of the duel, an exact piece of painting, wh
we see every attitude, motion, and action of the combata
particularly and distinctly, and which concludes with a s
prizing propriety, in the rescue of *Paris* by *Venus*. The m
chine of that Goddess, which makes the fifth part, and wh
end is to reconcile *Paris* and *Helena*, is admirable in every c
cumstance; The remonstrance she holds with the Goddess, t
reluctance with which she obeys her, the reproaches she ca
upon *Paris*, and the flattery and courtship with which he
soon wins her over to him. *Helen* (the main cause of th
war) was not to be made an odious character; she is dra
by this great master with the finest strokes, as a frail, but n
as an abandon'd creature. She has perpetual struggles of virt
on the one side, and softnesses which overcome them, on t
other. Our Author has been remarkably careful to tell
this whenever he but slightly names her in the foregoing p
of his work, she is represented at the same time as repenta
and it is thus we see her at large at her first appearance in t
present book; which is one of the shortest of the whole *Ili*
but in recompence has beauties almost in every line, and m
of them so obvious, that to acknowledge them we need o
to read them.

¶. 3. *With shouts the* Trojans.] The book begins with a s
opposition of the noise of the *Trojan* army to the silence
the *Grecians*. It was but natural to imagine this, since the s

To warmer ſeas the cranes embody'd fly,
With noiſe, and order, thro' the mid-way ſky;

To

mer was compos'd of many different nations, of various languages and ſtrangers to each other; the latter were more united in their neighbourhood, and under leaders of the ſame country. But as this obſervation ſeems particularly inſiſted upon by our Author (for he uſes it again in the fourth book, ℣. 486.) ſo he had a farther reaſon for it. *Plutarch*, in his treatiſe of reading the Poets, remarks upon this diſtinction, as a particular credit to the military diſcipline of the *Greeks*. And ſeveral ancient authors tell us, it was the manner of the *Barbarians* to encounter with ſhouts and outcries; as it continues to this day the cuſtom of the Eaſtern nations. Perhaps thoſe clamours were only to encourage their men, inſtead of martial inſtruments. I think Sir *Walter Raleigh* ſays, there never was a people but made uſe of ſome ſort of muſick in battel: *Homer* never mentions any in the *Greek* or *Trojan* armies, and it is ſcarce to be imagined he would omit a circumſtance ſo poetical without ſome particular reaſon. The verb Σαλπίζω, which the modern *Greeks* have ſince appropriated to the ſound of a trumpet, is uſed indifferently in our Author for other ſounds, as for thunder in the 21st *Iliad*, ℣. 388. Ἀμφὶ δ' σάλπιγξεν μέγας οὐρανὸς——. He once names the trumpet Σαλπίγξ in a *ſimile*, upon which *Euſtathius* and *Didymus* obſerve, that the uſe of it was known in the Poet's time, but not in that of the *Trojan* war. And hence we may infer that *Homer* was particularly careful not to confound the manners of the times he wrote of, with thoſe of the times he liv'd in.

℣. 7. *The cranes embody'd fly.*] If wit has been truly deſcrib'd to be a ſimilitude in ideas, and is more excellent as that ſimilitude is more ſurprizing; there cannot be a truer kind of wit than what is ſhewn in apt compariſons, eſpecially when compoſed of ſuch ſubjects as having the leaſt relation to each other in general, have yet ſome particular that agrees exactly. Of this nature is the ſimile of the *cranes* to the *Trojan* army, where the fancy of *Homer* flew to the remoteſt part of the world for an image which no reader could have expected. But it is no leſs exact than ſurprizing. The likeneſs conſiſts in two points, the *noiſe* and the *order*; the latter is ſo obſer-

 vable,

To pigmy-nations wounds and death they bring,
And all the war deſcends upon the wing.
But ſilent breathing rage, reſolv'd, and ſkill'd
By mutual aids to fix a doubtful field,
Swift march the *Greeks:* the rapid duſt around
Dark'ning ariſes from the labour'd ground.
Thus from his flaggy wings when *Notus* ſheds
A night of vapours round the mountain-heads,
Swift-gliding miſts the duſky fields invade,
To thieves more grateful than the midnight ſhade;
While ſcarce the ſwains their feeding flocks ſurvey,
Loſt and confus'd amidſt the thicken'd day:

vable, as to have given ſome of the ancients occaſion to imagine, the embattling of an army was firſt learn'd from the cloſe manner of flight of theſe birds. But this part of the ſimile not being directly expreſs'd by the author, has been overlook'd by ſome of the commentators. It may be remark'd, that *Homer* has generally a wonderful cloſeneſs in all the particulars of his compariſons, notwithſtanding he takes a liberty in his expreſſion of them. He ſeems ſo ſecure of the main likeneſs, that he makes no ſcruple to play with the circumſtances; ſometimes by tranſpoſing the order of them, ſometimes by ſuperadding them, and ſometimes (as in this place) by neglecting them in ſuch a manner, as to leave the reader to ſupply them himſelf. For the preſent compariſon, it has been taken by *Virgil* in the tenth book, and apply'd to the clamours of ſoldiers in the ſame manner.

——*Qualis ſub nubibus atris*
Strymonia dant ſigna grues, atque æthera tranant
Cum ſonitu, fugiuntque Notos clamore ſecundo.

So wrapt in gath'ring duſt, the *Grecian* train
A moving cloud, ſwept on, and hid the plain.
Now front to front the hoſtile armies ſtand,
Eager of fight, and only wait command:
When, to the van, before the ſons of fame
Whom *Troy* ſent forth, the beauteous *Paris* came:
In form a God! the panther's ſpeckled hyde
Flow'd o'er his armour with an eaſy pride,
His bended bow acroſs his ſhoulders flung,
His ſword beſide him negligently hung,
Two pointed ſpears he ſhook with gallant grace,
And dar'd the braveſt of the *Grecian* race.
As thus with glorious air and proud diſdain,
He boldly ſtalk'd, the foremoſt on the plain,
Him *Menelaus*, lov'd of *Mars*, eſpies,
With heart elated, and with joyful eyes:

℣. 26. *The beauteous* Paris *came, In form a God.*] This is meant by the epithet Θεοειδὴς, as has been ſaid in the notes on the firſt book, ℣. 169. The picture here given of *Paris*'s air and dreſs, is exactly correſpondent to his character; you ſee him endeavouring to mix the fine gentleman with the warrior; and this idea of him *Homer* takes care to keep up, by deſcribing him not without the ſame regard, when he is arming to encounter *Menelaus* afterwards in a cloſe fight, as he knews here where he is but preluding and flouriſhing in the gaiety of his heart. And when he tells us, in that place, that he was in danger of being ſtrangled by the ſtrap of his helmet, he takes notice that it was ποικίλος, *embroider'd*.

So joys a lion, if the branching deer
Or mountain goat, his bulky prize, appear;
In vain the youths oppoſe, the maſtives bay,
The lordly ſavage rends the panting prey.

ν. 37. *So joys a lion if the branching deer, Or mountain goat.* The old ſcholiaſts refining on this ſimile, will have it, that *Paris* is compar'd to a goat on account of his incontinence, and to a ſtag for his cowardice: To this laſt they make an addition which is very ludicrous, that he is alſo liken'd to a deer for his *skill in muſick*, and cite *Ariſtotle* to prove that animal delights in harmony, which opinion is alluded to by Mr. *Waller* in theſe lines:

Here love takes ſtand, and while ſhe charms the ear
Empties his quiver on the liſt'ning deer.

But upon the whole, it is whimſical to imagine this compariſon conſiſts in any thing more, than the joy which *Menelaus* conceiv'd at the ſight of his rival, in the hopes of deſtroying him. It is equally an injuſtice to *Paris*, to abuſe him for underſtanding muſick, and to repreſent his retreat as purely the effect of fear, which proceeded from his ſenſe of guilt with reſpect to the particular perſon of *Menelaus*. He appear'd at the head of the army to challenge the boldeſt of the enemy. Nor is his character elſewhere in the *Iliad* by any means that of a coward. *Hector* at the end of the ſixth book confeſſes that no man could juſtly reproach him as ſuch. Nor is he repreſented ſo by *Ovid* (who copy'd *Homer* very cloſely) in the end of his epiſtle to *Helen*. The moral of *Homer* is much finer. A brave mind, however blinded with paſſion, is ſenſible of remorſe as ſoon as the injur'd object preſents itſelf; and *Paris* never behaves himſelf ill in war, but when his ſpirits are depreſs'd by the conſciouſneſs of an injuſtice. This alſo will account for the ſeeming incongruity of *Homer* in this paſſage, who (as they would have us think) paints him a ſhameful coward, at the ſame time that he is perpetually calling him *the divine Paris*, and *Paris like a God*. What he ſays immediately afterwards in anſwer to *Hector*'s reproof, will make this yet more clear.

The

Thus fond of vengeance, with a furious bound,
In clanging arms he leaps upon the ground
From his high chariot: Him, approaching near,
The beauteous champion views with marks of fear,
Smit with a conſcious ſenſe, retires behind,
And ſhuns the fate he well deſerv'd to find.
As when ſome ſhepherd from the ruſtling trees
Shot forth to view, a ſcaly ſerpent ſees;
Trembling and pale, he ſtarts with wild affright,
And all confus'd, precipitates his flight.

ỳ. 47. *As when a ſhepherd.*] This compariſon of the ſerpent is finely imitated by *Virgil* in the ſecond *Æneid.*

Improviſum aſpris veluti qui ſentibus anguem
Preſſit humi nitens, trepiduſque repentè refugit
Attollentem iras, & cærula colla tumentem:
Haud ſecus Androgeus viſu tremefactus abibat.

But it may be ſaid to the praiſe of *Virgil*, that he has apply'd it upon an occaſion where it has an additional beauty. *Paris* upon the ſight of *Menelaus*'s approach, is compar'd to a traveller who ſees a ſnake ſhoot on a ſudden towards him. But the ſurprize and danger of *Androgeus* is more lively, being juſt in the reach of his enemies before he perceiv'd it; and the circumſtance of the ſerpent's rouzing his creſt, which brightens with anger, finely images the ſhining of their arms in the night-time, as they were juſt lifted up to deſtroy him. *Scaliger* criticizes on the needleſs repetition in the words παλίνορσος and ἀνεχώρησεν, which is avoided in the tranſlation. But it muſt be obſerv'd in general, that *little exactneſſes* are what we ſhould not look for in *Homer*; the genius of his age was too incorrect, and his own too fiery, to regard them.

So from the King the ſhining warrior flies,
And plung'd amid the thickeſt *Trojans* lies.
As Godlike *Hector* ſees the Prince retreat,
He thus upbraids him with a gen'rous heat.

Unhappy

℣. 53. *As God-like* Hector.] This is the firſt place of the poem where *Hector* makes a figure, and here it ſeems proper to give an idea of his character, ſince if he is not the chief heroe of the *Iliad*, he is at leaſt the moſt amiable. There are ſeveral reaſons which render *Hector* a favorite character with every reader, ſome of which will here be offer'd. The chief moral of *Homer* was to expoſe the ill effects of diſcord; the *Greeks* were to be ſhewn diſunited, and to render the diſunion the more probable, he has deſignedly given them *mixt* characters. The *Trojans*, on the other hand, were to be repreſented making all advantages of the others diſagreement, which they could not do without a ſtrict union among themſelves. *Hector* therefore, who commanded them, muſt be endu'd with all ſuch qualifications as tended to the preſervation of it; as *Achilles* with ſuch as promoted the contrary. The one ſtands in contraſte to the other, an accompliſh'd character of valour unruffled by rage and anger, and uniting his people by his prudence and example. *Hector* has alſo a foil to ſet him off in his own family; we are perpetually oppoſing in our own minds the incontinence of *Paris*, who expoſes his country, to the temperance of *Hector* who protects it. And indeed it is this love of his country, which appears his principal paſſion, and the motive of all his actions. He has no other blemiſh than that he fights in an unjuſt cauſe, which *Homer* has yet been careful to tell us he would not do, if his opinion were followed. But ſince he cannot prevail, the affection he bears to his parents and kindred, and his deſire of defending them, incites him to do his utmoſt for their ſafety. We may add, that *Homer* having ſo many *Greeks* to celebrate, makes them ſhine in their turns, and ſingly in their ſeveral books, one ſucceeding in the abſence of another: Whereas *Hector* appears in every battel the life and ſoul of his party, and the conſtant bulwark againſt every enemy: He ſtands againſt *Agamemnon*'s magnanimity, *Diomed*'s bravery, *Ajax*'s ſtrength,

Unhappy *Paris!* but to women brave!
So fairly form'd, and only to deceive!
Oh had'st thou dy'd when first thou saw'st the light,
Or dy'd at least before thy nuptial rite!

strength, and *Achilles*'s fury. There is besides, an accidental cause for our liking him, from reading the writers of the *Augustan* age (especially *Virgil*) whose favorite he grew more particularly from the time when the *Cæsars* fansy'd to derive their pedigree from *Troy*.

ỳ. 55. *Unhappy* Paris, *&c.*] It may be observ'd in honour of *Homer*'s judgment, that the words which *Hector* is made to speak here, very strongly mark his character. They contain a warm reproach of cowardice, and shew him to be touch'd with so high a sense of glory, as to think life insupportable without it. His calling to mind the gallant figure which *Paris* had made in his amours to *Helen*, and opposing to it the image of his flight from her husband, is a sarcasm of the utmost bitterness and vivacity. After he has named that action of the rape, the cause of so many mischiefs, his insisting upon it in so many broken periods, those disjointed shortnesses of speech.

(Πατρί τε σῷ μέγα πῆμα, πολῆί τε, παντί τε δήμῳ,
Δυσμενέσιν μὲν χάρμα, κατηφείην δέ σοι αὐτῷ.)

That hasty manner of expression without the connexion of particles, is (as *Eustathius* remarks) extreamly natural to a man in anger, who thinks he can never vent himself too soon. That contempt of outward shew, of the gracefulness of person, and of the accomplishments of a courtly life, is what corresponds very well with the warlike temper of *Hector*; and these verses have therefore a beauty here which they want in *Horace*, however admirably he has translated them, in the ode of *Nereus*'s *prophecy*.

Necquicquam Veneris præsidio ferox,
Pectes cæsariem; grataque fœminis
Imbelli citherâ carmina divides, &c.

A better fate, than vainly thus to boaſt,
And fly, the ſcandal of thy *Trojan* hoſt.
Gods! how the ſcornful *Greeks* exult to ſee
Their fears of danger undeceiv'd in thee!
Thy figure promis'd with a martial air,
But ill thy ſoul ſupplies a form ſo fair.
In former days, in all thy gallant pride,
When thy tall ſhips triumphant ſtem'd the tide,
When *Greece* beheld thy painted canvas flow,
And crowds ſtood wond'ring at the paſſing ſhow;
Say, was it thus, with ſuch a baffled mien,
You met th' approaches of the *Spartan* Queen,
Thus from her realm convey'd the beauteous prize,
And *both her warlike lords outſhin'd in *Helen*'s eyes?
This deed, thy foes delight, thy own diſgrace,
Thy father's grief, and ruin of thy race;
This deed recalls thee to the proffer'd fight;
Or haſt thou injur'd whom thou dar'ſt not right?
Soon to thy coſt the field would make the know
Thou keep'ſt the conſort of a braver foe.

**Theſeus and Menelaus.*

¥. 72. *And both her warlike lords.*] The original is Νυὸν ἀρήϊον ἀίχμητάων. *The ſpouſe of martial men.* I wonder why Madam *Dacier* choſe to turn it *Alliée à tant de braves guerriers*, ſince it ſo naturally refers to *Theſeus* and *Menelaus*, the former huſbands of *Helena*.

Thy

Thy graceful form inſtilling ſoft deſire,
Thy curling treſſes, and thy ſilver lyre,
Beauty and youth, in vain to theſe you truſt,
When youth and beauty ſhall be laid in duſt:
Troy yet may wake, and one avenging blow
Cruſh the dire author of his country's woe.
His ſilence here, with bluſhes, *Paris* breaks;
'Tis juſt, my brother, what your anger ſpeaks:
But

ỳ. 80. *Thy curling treſſes, and the ſilver lyre.*] It is ingeniouſly remark'd by *Dacier*, that *Homer*, who celebrates the *Greeks* for their long hair [καρηκομόωντας Ἀχαιοὺς] and *Achilles* for his skill on the harp, makes *Hector* in this place object them both to *Paris*. The *Greeks* nouriſh'd their hair to appear more dreadful to the enemy, and *Paris* to pleaſe the eyes of women. *Achilles* ſung to his harp the acts of Heroes, and *Paris* the amours of lovers. The ſame reaſon which makes *Hector* here diſpleas'd at them, made *Alexander* afterwards refuſe to ſee this lyre of *Paris*, when offer'd to be ſhewn to him, as *Plutarch* relates the ſtory in his oration of the fortune of *Alexander*.

ỳ. 83. *One avenging blow.*] It is in the *Greek*, *You had been clad in a coat of ſtone*. *Giphanius* would have it to mean ſtoned to death on the account of his adultery: But this does not appear to have been the puniſhment of that crime among the *Phrygians*. It ſeems rather to ſignify, deſtroy'd by the fury of the people, for the war he had brought upon them; or perhaps may imply no more than being laid in his grave under a monument of ſtones; but the former being the ſtronger ſenſe is here followed.

ỳ. 86 *'Tis juſt, my brother.*] This ſpeech is a farther opening of the true character of *Paris*. He is a maſter of civility, no leſs well-bred to his own ſex than courtly to the other. The reproof of *Hector* was of a ſevere nature, yet he receives it as from a brother and a friend, with candour and modeſty. This anſwer is remarkable for its fine addreſs; he gives the heroe a decent and agreeable reproof for having too raſhly

But who like thee can boaſt a ſoul ſedate,
So firmly proof to all the ſhocks of fate?
Thy force, like ſteel, a temper'd hardneſs ſhows,
Still edg'd to wound, and ſtill untir'd with blows,
Like ſteel, uplifted by ſome ſtrenuous ſwain,
With falling woods to ſtrow the waſted plain.
Thy gifts I praiſe; nor thou deſpiſe the charms
With which a lover golden *Venus* arms;
Soft moving ſpeech, and pleaſing outward ſhow,
No wiſh can gain 'em, but the Gods beſtow.
Yet, wou'd'ſt thou have the proffer'd combate ſtand,
The *Greeks* and *Trojans* ſeat on either hand;

depreciated the gifts of nature. He allows the quality of courage its utmoſt due, but deſires the ſame juſtice to thoſe ſofter accompliſhments, which he lets him know are no leſs the favour of heaven. Then he removes from himſelf the charge of want of valour, by propoſing the ſingle combate with the very man he had juſt declin'd to engage; which having ſhewn him void of any malevolence to his rival on the one hand, he now proves himſelf free from the imputation of cowardice on the other. *Homer* draws him (as we have ſeen) ſoft of ſpeech, the natural quality of an amorous temper; vainly gay, in war as well as love; with a ſpirit that can be ſurprized and recollected, that can receive impreſſions of ſhame or reprehenſion on the one ſide, or of generoſity and courage on the other; the uſual diſpoſition of eaſy and courteous minds, which are moſt ſubject to the rule of fancy and paſſion. Upon the whole, this is no worſe than the picture of a *gentle Knight*, and one might fanſy the heroes of the modern romance were form'd upon the model of *Paris*.

Then let a mid-way ſpace our hoſts divide,
And, on that ſtage of war, the cauſe be try'd:
By *Paris* there the *Spartan* King be fought,
For beauteous *Helen* and the wealth ſhe brought:
And who his rival can in arms ſubdue,
His be the fair, and his the treaſure too.
Thus with a laſting league your toils may ceaſe,
And *Troy* poſſeſs her fertile fields in peace;
Thus may the *Greeks* review their native ſhore,
Much fam'd for gen'rous ſteeds, for beauty more.
He ſaid. The challenge *Hector* heard with joy,
Then with his ſpear reſtrain'd the youth of *Troy*,
Held by the midſt, athwart; and near the foe
Advanc'd with ſteps majeſtically ſlow.

ỳ. 108. *Much fam'd for gen'rous ſteeds, for beauty more.*] The original is, Ἄργος θ' ἱππόβοτον, καὶ Ἀχαιΐδας καλλιγύναικας. Perhaps this line is tranſlated too cloſe to the letter, and the epithets might have been omitted. But there are ſome traits and particularities of this nature, which methinks preſerve to the reader the air of *Homer*. At leaſt the latter of theſe circumſtances, that *Greece was eminent for beautiful women*, ſeems not improper to be mention'd by him who had rais'd a war on the account of a *Grecian Beauty*.

ỳ. 109. *The challenge* Hector *heard with joy.*] *Hector* ſtays not to reply to his brother, but runs away with the challenge immediately. He looks upon all the *Trojans* as diſgrac'd by the late flight of *Paris*, and thinks not a moment is to be loſt to regain the honour of his country. The activity he ſhews in all this affair wonderfully agrees with the ſpirit of a ſoldier.

While round his dauntleſs head the *Grecians* pour
Their ſtones and arrows in a mingled ſhow'r.
Then thus the Monarch great *Atrides* cry'd;
Forbear ye warriors! lay the darts aſide:
A parley *Hector* aſks, a meſſage bears;
We know him by the various plume he wears.
Aw'd by his high command the *Greeks* attend,
The tumult ſilence, and the fight ſuſpend.
While from the centre *Hector* rolls his eyes
On either hoſt and thus to both applies.
Hear, all ye *Trojan*, all ye *Grecian* bands!
What *Paris*, author of the war, demands.
Your ſhining ſwords within the ſheath reſtrain,
And pitch your lances in the yielding plain.

℣. 123. *Hear all ye* Trojans, *all ye* Grecian *bands.*] It has been ask'd how the different nations could underſtand one another in theſe conferences, ſince we have no mention in *Homer* of any interpreter between them? He who was ſo very particular in the moſt minute points, can hardly be thought to have been negligent in this. Some reaſons may be offer'd that they both ſpoke the ſame language; for the *Trojans* (as may be ſeen in *Dion. Halic. lib.* 1.) were of *Grecian* extraction originally. *Dardanus* the firſt of their Kings was born in *Arcadia*; and even their names were generally *Greek*, as *Hector*, *Anchiſes*, *Andromache*, *Aſtyanax*, &c. Of the laſt of theſe in particular, *Homer* gives us a derivation which is purely *Greek*, in *Il.* 6. ℣. 403. But however it be, this is no more (as *Dacier* ſomewhere obſerves) than the juſt privilege of Poetry. *Æneas* and *Turnus* underſtand each other in *Virgil*, and the language of the Poet is ſuppos'd to be univerſally intelligible, not only between different countries, but between earth and heaven itſelf.

Here, in the midſt, in either army's ſight,
He dares the *Spartan* King to ſingle fight;
And wills, that *Helen* and the raviſh'd ſpoil
That caus'd the conteſt, ſhall reward the toil.
Let theſe the brave triumphant victor grace,
And diff'ring nations part in leagues of peace.
He ſpoke: in ſtill ſuſpenſe on either ſide
Each army ſtood: The *Spartan* Chief reply'd.
Me too ye warriors hear, whoſe fatal right
A world engages in the toils of fight.

To

℣. 135. *Me too ye warriors hear*, &c.] We may obſerve what care *Homer* takes to give every one his proper character, and how this ſpeech of *Menelaus* is adapted to the *Laconick*; which the better to comprehend, we may remember there are in *Homer* three ſpeakers of different characters agreeable to the three different kinds of eloquence. Theſe we may compare with each other in one inſtance, ſuppoſing them all to uſe the ſame heads, and in the ſame order.

The materials of the ſpeech are, The manifeſting his grief for the war, with the hopes that it is in his power to end it; an acceptance of the propos'd challenge; an account of the ceremonies to be us'd in the league; and a propoſal of a proper caution to ſecure it.

Now had *Neſtor* theſe materials to work upon, he would probably have begun with a relation of all the troubles of the nine year's ſiege, which he hop'd he might now bring to an end; he would court their benevolence and good wiſhes for his proſperity, with all the figures of amplication; while he accepted the challenge, he would have given an example to prove that the ſingle combate was a wiſe, gallant, and gentle way of ending the war, practis'd by their fathers: in the deſcription of the rites he would be exceeding particular; and when he choſe to demand the ſanction of *Priam* rather than

To me the labour of the field resign;
Me *Paris* injur'd; all the war be mine.

than of his sons, he would place in opposition on one side the son's action which began the war, and on the other the impressions of concern or repentance which it must by this time have made in the father's mind, whose wisdom he would undoubtedly extol as the effect of his age. All this he would have expatiated upon with connexions of the discourse in the most evident manner, and the most easy, gliding, undisobliging transitions. The effect would be, that the people would hear him with pleasure.

Had it been *Ulysses* who was to make the speech, he would have mention'd a few of their most affecting calamities in a pathetick air; then have undertaken the fight with testifying such a chearful joy, as should have won the hearts of the soldiers to follow him to the field without being desir'd. He would have been exceeding cautious in wording the conditions; and solemn, rather than particular, in speaking of the rites, which he would only insist on as an opportunity to exhort both sides to a fear of the Gods, and a strict regard of justice. He would have remonstrated the use of sending for *Priam*; and (because no caution could be too much) have demanded his sons to be bound with him. For a conclusion he would have us'd some noble sentiment agreeable to a heroe, and (it may be) have enforc'd it with some inspirited action. In all this you would have known that the discourse hung together, but its fire would not always suffer it to be seen in cooler transitions, which (when they are too nicely laid open) may conduct the reader, but never carry him away. The people would hear him with emotion.

These materials being given to *Menelaus*, he but just mentions their troubles, and his satisfaction in the prospect of ending them, shortens the proposals, says a sacrifice is necessary, requires *Priam*'s presence to confirm the conditions, refuses his sons with a resentment of that injury he suffer'd by them, and concludes with a reason for his choice from the praise of age, with a short gravity, and the air of an apophthegm. This he puts in order without any more transition than what a single conjunction affords. And the effect of the discourse is, that the people are instructed by it in what is to be done.

Fall

all he that muſt, beneath his rival's arms,
And live the reſt ſecure of future harms.
Two lambs, devoted by your country's rite,
To *Earth* a ſable, to the *Sun* a white,
Prepare ye *Trojans!* while a third we bring
Elect to *Jove*, th' inviolable King.
Let rev'rend *Priam* in the truce engage,
And add the ſanction of confid'rate age;
His ſons are faithleſs, headlong in debate,
And youth itſelf an empty wav'ring ſtate:
Cool age advances venerably wiſe,
Turns on all hands its deep-diſcerning eyes;
Sees what befell, and what may yet befall,
Concludes from both, and beſt provides for all.
The nations hear, with riſing hopes poſſeſt,
And peaceful proſpects dawn in ev'ry breaſt.

Within

℣. 141. *Two lambs devoted.*] The *Trojans* (ſays the old ſcholiaſt) were required to ſacrifice two lambs; one male of a white colour, to the *Sun*, and one female, and black, to the *Earth*; as the *Sun* is father of light, and the *Earth* the mother and nurſe of men. The *Greeks* were to offer a third to *Jupiter*, perhaps to *Jupiter Xenius*, becauſe the *Trojans* had broken the laws of hoſpitality: On which account we find *Menelaus* afterwards invoking him in the combate with *Paris*. That theſe were the powers to which they ſacrific'd, appears by their being atteſted by name in the oath, ℣. 346, *&c.*

℣. 153. *The nations hear, with riſing hopes poſſeſt.*] It ſeem'd no more than what the reader would reaſonably expect, in the

Within the lines they drew their ſteeds around,
And from their chariots iſſu'd on the ground:
Next all unbuckling the rich mail they wore,
Lay'd their bright arms along the ſable ſhore.
On either ſide the meeting hoſts are ſeen,
With lances fix'd, and cloſe the ſpace between.
Two heralds now diſpatch'd to *Troy*, invite
The *Phrygian* Monarch to the peaceful rite;

the narration of this long war, that a period might have been put to it by the ſingle danger of the parties chiefly concern'd, *Paris* and *Menelaus*. *Homer* has therefore taken care towards the beginning of his Poem to obviate that objection; and contriv'd ſuch a method to render this combate of no effect, as ſhould naturally make way for all the enſuing battels, without any future proſpect of a determination but by the ſword. It is farther worth obſerving, in what manner he has improved into Poetry the common hiſtory of this action, if (as one may imagine) it was the ſame with that we have in the ſecond book of *Dictys Cretenſis*. *When* Paris (ſays he) *being wounded by the ſpear of* Menelaus *fell to the ground, juſt as his adverſary was ruſhing upon him with his ſword, he was ſhot by an arrow from* Pandarus, *which prevented his revenge in the moment he was going to take it. Immediately on the ſight of this perfidious action, the* Greeks *roſe in a tumult; the* Trojans *riſing at the ſame time, came on, and reſcued* Paris *from his enemy*. *Homer* has with great art and invention mingled all this with the marvellous, and rais'd it in the air of fable. The *Goddeſs of Love* reſcues her favourite; *Jupiter* debates whether or no the war ſhall end by the defeat of *Paris*; *Juno* is for the continuance of it; *Minerva* incites *Pandarus* to break the truce, who thereupon ſhoots at *Menelaus*. This heightens the grandeur of the action, without deſtroying the veriſimilitude, diverſifies the poem, and exhibits a fine moral; That whatever ſeems in the world the effect of common cauſes, is really owing to the decree and diſpoſition of the Gods.

Talthy-

Ithybius haſtens to the fleet, to bring
The lamb for *Jove*, th' inviolable King.
Meantime, to beauteous *Helen*, from the ſkies
The various Goddeſs of the rain-bow flies:
Like fair *Laodicè* in form and face,
The lovelieſt Nymph of *Priam*'s royal race)
Her in the palace, at her loom ſhe found;
The golden web her own ſad ſtory crown'd,

ſ. 165. *Mean while to beauteous* Helen, *&c.*] The following
rt, where we have the firſt ſight of *Helena*, is what I can-
t think inferior to any in the Poem. The reader has na-
rally an averſion to this pernicious beauty, and is apt e-
ugh to wonder at the *Greeks* for endeavouring to recover
r at ſuch an expence. But her amiable behaviour here,
e ſecret wiſhes that ariſe in favour of her rightful Lord, her
nderneſs for her parents and relations, the relentings of her
l for the miſchiefs her beauty had been the cauſe of, the
nfuſion ſhe appears in, the veiling her face; and dropping
ear; are particulars ſo beautifully natural, as to make eve-
reader no leſs than *Menelaus* himſelf, inclin'd to forgive
r at leaſt, if not to love her. We are afterwards confirm'd
this partiality by the ſentiment of the old counſellors up-
the ſight of her, which one would think *Homer* put into
eir mouths with that very view: We excuſe her no more
an *Priam* does himſelf, and all thoſe who felt the calami-
s ſhe occaſion'd: And this regard for her is heighten'd by
ſhe ſays herſelf; in which there is ſcarce a word, that is
t big with repentance and good nature.

ſ. 170. *The golden web her own ſad ſtory crown'd.*] This is a
y agreeable fiction, to repreſent *Helena* weaving in a large
l, or piece of tapeſtry, the ſtory of the *Trojan* war. One
u'd think that *Homer* inherited this veil, and that his *Iliad*
only an explication of that admirable piece of art. *Dacier.*

The

The *Trojan* wars she weav'd (herself the prize)
And the dire triumphs of her fatal eyes.
To whom the Goddess of the painted bow;
Approach, and view the wond'rous scene below:
Each hardy *Greek*, and valiant *Trojan* Knight,
So dreadful late, and furious for the fight,
Now rest their spears, or lean upon their shields;
Ceas'd is the war, and silent all the fields.
Paris alone and *Sparta*'s King advance,
In single fight to toss the beamy lance;
Each met in arms, the fate of combate tries,
Thy love the motive, and thy charms the prize.
This said, the many colour'd maid inspires
Her husband's love, and wakes her former fires;
Her countrey, parents, all that once were dear,
Rush to her thought, and force a tender tear.
O'er her fair face a snowy veil she threw,
And, softly sighing, from the loom withdrew.
Her handmaids *Clymenè* and *Æthra* wait
Her silent footsteps to the *Scæan* gate.
There sate the Seniors of the *Trojan* race,
(Old *Priam*'s Chiefs, and most in *Priam*'s grace)
The King the first; *Thymœtes* at his side;
Lampus and *Clytius*, long in council try'd;

Panthus

Panthus, and *Hicetäon*, once the ſtrong;
And next, the wiſeſt of the rev'rend throng,
Antenor grave, and ſage *Ucalegon*,
Lean'd on the walls, and baſk'd before the ſun.
Chiefs, who no more in bloody fights engage,
But wiſe thro' time, and narrative with age,
In ſummer-days, like Graſhoppers rejoice,
A bloodleſs race, that ſend a feeble voice.

Theſe,

℣. 201 *Like graſhoppers.*] This is one of the juſteſt and moſt natural images in the world. tho' there have been criticks of so little taſte as to object to it as a mean one. The garruliſy ſo common to old men, their delight in aſſociating with ach other, the feeble ſound of their voices, the pleaſure ey take in a ſun-ſhiny day, the effects of decay in their illneſs, leanneſs, and ſcarcity of blood, are all circumances exactly parallel'd in this compariſon. To make yet more proper to the old men of *Troy*, *Euſtathius* as obſerv'd that *Homer* found a hint for this ſimile in the rojan ſtory, where *Tithon* was feign'd to have been tranſorm'd into a Graſhopper in his old age, perhaps on account f his being ſo exhauſted by years as to have nothing left im but voice. *Spondanus* wonders that *Homer* ſhould apply graſhoppers ὅπα λειριόεσσαν, a *ſweet voice*, whereas that of eſe animals is harſh and untuneful; and he is contented o come off with a very poor evaſion of *Homero fingere quidlibet fas fuit*. But *Heſychius* rightly obſerves that λειρόεις ſignifies ἁπαλός: *tener* or *gracilis*, as well as *ſuavis*. The ſenſe is certainly much better, and the ſimile more truly preſerv'd by this interpretation, which is here follow'd in tranſlating *feeble*. However it may be alledg'd in defence of the common verſions, and of Madam *Dacier*'s (who has turn'd it *Harmonieuſe*,) that tho' *Virgil* gives the Epithet *rauca* to *Cicada*, yet the *Greek* Poets frequently deſcribe the graſhopper as a muſical

These, when the *Spartan* Queen approach'd the tow'r,
In secret own'd resistless Beauty's pow'r:

musical creature, particularly *Anacreon* and *Theocritus*, *Idyl.* 1. where a shepherd praises another's singing by telling him,

Τέττιγος ἐπεὶ τύγε φέρτερον ᾄδεις.

It is remarkable that Mr. *Hobbes* has omitted this beautiful simile.

℣. 203. *These, when the* Spartan *Fair approach'd.*] Madam *Dacier* is of opinion there was never a greater panegyrick upon beauty, than what *Homer* has found the art to give it in this place. An assembly of venerable old counsellors, who had suffer'd all the calamities of a tedious war, and were consulting upon the methods to put a conclusion to it, seeing the only cause of it approaching towards them, are struck with her charms, and cry out, *No wonder?* &c. Nevertheless they afterwards recollect themselves, and conclude to part with her for the publick safety. If *Homer* had carry'd these old mens admiration any farther, he had been guilty of outraging nature, and offending against probability. The old are capable of being touch'd with beauty by the eye; but age secures them from the tyranny of passion, and the effect is but transitory, for prudence soon regains its dominion over them. *Homer* always goes as far as he should, but constantly stops just where he ought. *Dacier.*

The same writer compares to this the speech of *Holofernes's* soldiers on the sight of *Judith*, *ch.* x. ℣. 18. But tho' there be a resemblance in the words, the beauty is no way parallel; the grace of this consisting in the age and character of those who speak it. There is something very gallant upon the beauty of *Helen* in one of *Lucian's* dialogues. *Mercury* shews *Menippus* the skuls of several fine women; and when the philosopher is moralizing upon that of *Helen*. *Was is for this a thousand ships sail'd from* Greece, *so many brave men dy'd, and so many cities were destroy'd? My friend* (*says* Mercury) *'tis true; but what you behold is only her* skull; *you would have been of their opinion, and have done the very same thing, had you seen her* face.

They

They cry'd, No wonder, ſuch celeſtial charms
For nine long years have ſet the world in arms;
What winning graces! what majeſtick mien!
She moves a Goddeſs, and ſhe looks a Queen!
Yet hence, oh heav'n! convey that fatal face,
And from deſtruction ſave the *Trojan* race.
The good old *Priam* welcom'd her, and cry'd,
Approach, my child, and grace thy father's ſide.
See on the plain thy *Grecian* ſpouſe appears,
The friends and kindred of thy former years.
No crime of thine our preſent ſuff'rings draws,
Not thou, but heav'n's diſpoſing will, the cauſe;
The Gods theſe armies and this force employ,
The hoſtile Gods conſpire the fate of *Troy*.

V. 211. *The good old* Priam.] The character of a benevolent old man is very well preſerv'd in *Priam*'s behaviour to *Helena*. Upon the confuſion he obſerves her in, he encourages her, by attributing the misfortunes of the war to the Gods alone, and not to her fault. This ſentiment is alſo very agreeable to the natural piety of old age; thoſe who have had the longeſt experience of human accidents and events, being moſt inclin'd to aſcribe the diſpoſal of all things to the will of heaven. It is this piety that renders *Priam* a favourite of *Jupiter*, (as we find in the beginning of the fourth book) which for ſome time delays the deſtruction of *Troy*; while his ſoft nature and indulgence for his children makes him continue a war which ruines him. Theſe are the two principal points of *Priam*'s character, tho' there are ſeveral leſſer particularities, among which we may obſerve the curioſity and inquiſitive humour of old age, which gives occaſion to the following Epiſode.

But

But lift thy eyes, and say, What *Greek* is he
(Far as from hence these aged orbs can see)
Around whose brow such martial graces shine,
So tall, so awful, and almost divine?

℣. 219. *And say, what Chief is he?*] This view of the *Grecian* leaders from the walls of *Troy*, is justly look'd upon as an Episode of great beauty, as well as a masterpiece of conduct in *Homer*; who by this means acquaints the readers with the figure and qualifications of each heroe in a more lively and agreeable manner. Several great Poets have been engaged by the beauty of this passage to an imitation of it. In the seventh book of *Statius*, *Phorbas* standing with *Antigone* on the tower of *Thebes*, shews her the forces as they were drawn up, and describes their commanders who were neigbouring Princes of *Bœotia*. It is also imitated by *Tasso* in his third book, where *Erminia* from the walls of *Jerusalem* points out the chief warriours to the King; tho' the latter part is perhaps copied too closely and minutely; for he describes *Godfrey* to be of a port that bespeaks him a Prince, the next of somewhat a lower stature, a third renown'd for his wisdom, and then another is distinguish'd by the largeness of his chest and breadth of his shoulders: Which are not only the very particulars, but in the very order of *Homer's*.

But however this manner of introduction has been admir'd, there have not been wanting some exceptions to a particular or two. *Scaliger* asks, how it happens that *Priam*, after nine years siege, should be yet unacquainted with the faces of the *Grecian* leaders? This was an old cavil, as appears by the *Scholia* that pass under the name of *Didymus*, where it is very well answer'd, that *Homer* has just before taken care to tell us the heroes had put off their armour on this occasion of the truce, which had conceal'd their persons till now. Others have objected to *Priam's* not knowing *Ulysses*, who (as it appears afterwards) had been at *Troy* on an embassy. The answer is, that this might happen either from the dimness of *Priam's* sight, or defect of his memory, or from the change of *Ulysses's* features since that time.

Tho'

Tho' ſome of larger ſtature tread the green,
None match his grandeur and exalted mien:
He ſeems a Monarch, and his countrey's pride.
Thus ceas'd the King, and thus the Fair reply'd.
Before thy preſence, Father, I appear
With conſcious ſhame and reverential fear.
Ah! had I dy'd, e're to theſe walls I fled,
Falſe to my countrey, and my nuptial bed,
My brothers, friends, and daughter left behind,
Falſe to them all, to *Paris* only kind!
For this I mourn, 'till grief or dire diſeaſe
Shall waſt the form whoſe crime it was to pleaſe!
The King of Kings, *Atrides*, you ſurvey,
Great in the war, and great in arts of ſway:
My brother once, before my days of ſhame;
And oh! that ſtill he bore a brother's name!

℣. 227. *Before thy preſence.*] *Helen* is ſo overwhelmed with grief and ſhame, that ſhe is unable to give a direct anſwer to *Priam* without firſt humbling herſelf before him, acknowledging her crime, and teſtifying her repentance. And ſhe no ſooner anſwers by naming *Agamemnon*, but her ſorrows renew at the name; *He was once my brother, but I am now a wretch unworthy to call him ſo.*

℣. 236. *Great in the war, and great in arts of ſway.*] This was the verſe which *Alexander* the Great preferr'd to all others in *Homer*, and which he propos'd as the pattern of his own actions, as including whatever can be deſir'd in a Prince *Plut. Orat. de fort. Alex.* 1.

With

With wonder *Priam* view'd the God-like man,
Extoll'd the happy Prince, and thus began.
O bleſt *Atrides!* born to proſp'rous fate,
Succeſsful Monarch of a mighty ſtate!
How vaſt thy empire! Of yon' matchleſs train
What numbers loſt, what numbers yet remain?
In *Phrygia* once were gallant armies known,
In ancient time, when *Otreus'* fill'd the throne,
When Godlike *Mygdon* led their troops of horſe,
And I, to join them, rais'd the *Trojan* force;
Againſt the manlike *Amazons* we ſtood,
And *Sangar*'s ſtream ran purple with their blood.
But far inferior thoſe, with martial grace
And ſtrength of numbers, to this *Grecian* race.
Then ſaid, once more he view'd the warriour-train
What's he, whoſe arms lie ſcatter'd on the plain?

℣. 240. *Extoll'd the happy Prince.*] It was very natural for *Priam* on this occaſion, to compare the declining condition of his kingdom with the flouriſhing ſtate of *Agamemnon*; and to oppoſe his own miſery (who had loſt moſt of his ſons and his braveſt warriours) to the felicity of the other, in being yet maſter of ſo gallant an army. After this the humour of old age breaks out, in the narration of what armies he had formerly ſeen, and bore a part in the command of; as well as what feats of valour he had then performed. Beſides which, this praiſe of the *Greeks* from the mouth of an enemy, was no ſmall encomium of *Homer*'s countreymen.

Bro

Broad is his breaſt, his ſhoulders larger ſpread,
Tho' great *Atrides* overtops his head.
Nor yet appear his care and conduct ſmall,
From rank to rank he moves, and orders all.
The ſtately Ram thus meaſures o'er the ground,
And, maſter of the flocks, ſurveys them round.

Then *Helen* thus. Whom your diſcerning eyes
Have ſingled out, is *Ithacus* the wiſe:
A barren iſland boaſts his glorious birth:
His fame for wiſdom fills the ſpacious earth.

Antenor took the word, and thus began:
Myſelf, O King! have ſeen that wondrous man:
When truſting *Jove* and hoſpitable laws,
To *Troy* he came, to plead the *Grecian* cauſe;
(Great *Menelaus* urg'd the ſame requeſt)
My houſe was honour'd with each royal gueſt:
I knew their perſons, and admir'd their parts,
Both brave in arms, and both approv'd in arts.
Erect

℣. 258. *From rank to rank he moves.*] The vigilance and inſpection of *Ulyſſes* were very proper marks to diſtinguiſh him, and agree with his character of a wiſe man, no leſs than the grandeur and majeſty before deſcribed are comformable to that of *Agamemnon*, as the ſupreme ruler; whereas we find *Ajax* afterwards taken notice of only for his bulk, as a heavy Heroe without parts or authority. This decorum is obſervable.

℣. 271. *I knew their perſons*, &c.] In this view of the leaders

Erect, the *Spartan* moſt engag'd our view,
Ulyſſes ſeated, greater rev'rence drew,
When *Atreus'* ſon harangu'd the liſt'ning train,
Juſt was his ſenſe, and his expreſſion plain,

of the army, it had been an overſight in *Homer* to have taken no notice of *Menelaus*, who was not only one of the principal of them, but was immediately to engage the obſervation of the reader in the ſingle combate. On the other hand, it had been a high indecorum to have made *Helena* ſpeak of him. He has therefore put his praiſes into the mouth of *Antenor*; which was alſo a more artful way than to have preſented him to the eye of *Priam* in the ſame manner with the reſt: It appears from hence, what a regard he has had both to decency and variety, in the conduct of his poem.

This paſſage concerning the different eloquence of *Menelaus* and *Ulyſſes* is inexpreſſibly juſt and beautiful. The cloſe *Laconick* conciſeneſs of the one, is finely oppos'd to the copious, vehement, and penetrating oratory of the other; which is ſo exquiſitely deſcrib'd in the ſimile of the ſnow falling *faſt*, and ſinking *deep*. For it is in this the beauty of the compariſon conſiſts, according to *Quintilian*, *l.* 12. *c.* 10. *In Ulyſſe facundiam & magnitudinem junxit, cui orationem nivibus hyberni copiæ verborum atque impetu parem tribuit.* We may ſet in the ſame light with theſe the character of *Neſtor*'s eloquence, which conſiſted in ſoftneſs and perſuaſiveneſs, and is therefore (in contradiſtinction to this of *Ulyſſes*) compar'd to honey which drops gently and ſlowly: a manner of ſpeech extremely natural to a benevolent old man, ſuch as *Neſtor* is repreſented. *Auſonius* has elegantly diſtinguiſh'd theſe three kinds of oratory in the following verſes.

Dulcem in paucis ut Piſithenidem,
Et torrentem cou Dulichii
Ningida dicta:
Et meſſita nectare vocis
Dulcia fatu verba canentem
Neſtora regem.

His words ſuccinct, yet full, without a fault;
He ſpoke no more than juſt the thing he ought.

But

ver. 278. *He ſpoke no more than juſt the thing he ought.*] *Chapman*, in his notes on this place and on the ſecond book, has deſcrib'd *Menelaus* as a character of ridicule and ſimplicity. He takes advantage from the word λιγυς here made uſe of, to interpret that of the *ſhrillneſs* of his voice, which was apply'd to the acuteneſs of his ſenſe: He obſerves that this ſort of voice is a mark of a fool; that *Menelaus* coming to his brother's feaſt uninvited in the ſecond book, has occaſion'd a proverb of folly; that the excuſe *Homer* himſelf makes for it (becauſe his brother might forget to invite him thro' much buſineſs) is purely ironical; that the epithet αγχιμαχος, which is often apply'd to him, ſhould not be tranſlated *warlike*, but one who had *an affectation of loving war*: In ſhort, that he was a weak Prince, play'd upon by others, ſhort in ſpeech, and of a bad pronunciation, valiant only by fits, and ſometimes ſtumbling upon good matter in his ſpeeches, as may happen to the moſt ſlender capacity. This is one of the myſteries which that tranſlator boaſts to have found in *Homer*. But as it is no way conſiſtent with the art of the Poet, to draw the perſon in whoſe behalf he engages the world, in ſuch manner as no regard ſhould be conceiv'd for him: we muſt endeavour to reſcue him from this miſrepreſentation. Firſt then, the preſent paſſage is taken by antiquity in general to be apply'd not to his pronunciation, but his eloquence. So *Auſonius* in the foregoing citation, and *Cicero de claris oratoribus: Menelaum ipſum dulcem illum quidem tradit Homerus, ſed pauca loquentem.* And *Quintilian, l.* 12. *c.* 10. *Homerus brevem cum animi jucunditate, & propriam (id enim eſt* non errare verbis) *& carentem ſupervacuis, eloquentiam Menelao dedit*, &c. Secondly, tho' his coming uninvited may have occaſion'd a jeſting proverb, it may naturally be accounted for on the principle of *brotherly love*, which ſo viſibly characterizes both him and *Agamemnon* throughout the poem. Thirdly, αγχιμαχος may import a love of war, but not an ungrounded affectation. Upon the whole, his character is by no means contemptible, tho' not of the moſt ſhining nature. He is called indeed in the 17th *Iliad* μαλθακος αιχμητης, *a ſoft warrior*, or one whoſe ſtrength is of the ſe-

But when *Ulyſſes* roſe, in thought profound,
His modeſt eyes he fix'd upon the ground,
As one unſkill'd or dumb, he ſeem'd to ſtand,
Nor rais'd his head, nor ſtretch'd his ſceptred hand;

cond rate; and ſo his brother thought him, when he preferr'd nine before him to fight with *Hector* in the 7th book. But on the other hand, his courage gives him a conſiderable figure in conquering *Paris*, defending the body of *Patroclus*, reſcuing *Ulyſſes*, wounding *Helenus*, killing *Euphorbus*, &c. He is full of reſentment for his private injuries, which brings him to the war with a ſpirit of revenge in the ſecond book, makes him blaſpheme *Jupiter* in the third, when *Paris* eſcapes him, and curſe the *Grecians* in the ſeventh, when they heſitate to accept *Hector*'s challenge. But this alſo is qualify'd with a compaſſion for thoſe who ſuffer in his cauſe, which he every where manifeſts upon proper occaſions; and with an induſtry to gratify others, as when he obeys *Ajax* in the ſeventeenth book, and goes upon his errand to find *Antilochus*, with ſome other condeſcenſions of the like nature. Thus his character is compos'd of qualities which give him no uneaſy ſuperiority over others while he wants their aſſiſtance, and mingled with ſuch as make him amiable enough to obtain it.

℣. 280. *His modeſt eyes*, &c.] This behaviour of *Ulyſſes* is copy'd by *Ovid*, *Met.* 13.

Aſtitit atque oculos paulum tellure morates
Suſtulit———

What follows in the *Greek* tranſlated word for word runs thus: *He ſeem'd like a fool; you would have thought him in a rage, or a madman.* How oddly this would appear in our language, I appeal to thoſe who have read *Ogilby*. The whole period means no more than to deſcribe that behaviour which is commonly remarkable in a modeſt and ſenſible man, who ſpeaks in publick: His diffidence and reſpect gives him at his firſt riſing a ſort of confuſion, which is not indecent, and which ſerves but the more to heighten the ſurprize and eſteem of thoſe who hear him.

But,

But, when he ſpeaks, what elocution flows!
Soft as the fleeces of deſcending ſnows,
The copious accents fall, with eaſy art;
Melting they fall, and ſink into the heart!
Wond'ring we hear, and fix'd in deep ſurprize
Our ears refute the cenſure of our eyes.
The King then ask'd (as yet the camp he view'd)
What chief is that, with giant ſtrength endu'd,
Whoſe brawny ſhoulders, and whoſe ſwelling cheſt,
And lofty ſtature far exceed the reſt!
Ajax the great (the beauteous Queen reply'd)
Himſelf a hoſt: the *Grecian* ſtrength and pride.
See! bold *Idomeneus* ſuperior tow'rs
Amidſt yon' circle of his *Cretan* pow'rs,
Great as a God! I ſaw him once before,
With *Menelaus*, on the *Spartan* ſhore.
The reſt I know, and could in order name;
All valiant chiefs, and men of mighty fame.
Yet two are wanting of the num'rous train,
Whom long my eyes have ſought, but ſought in vain:
Caſtor and *Pollux*, firſt in martial force,
One bold on foot, and one renown'd for horſe,
My brothers theſe! the ſame our native ſhore,
One houſe contain'd us, as one mother bore.

Perhaps the Chiefs, from warlike toils at eaſe,
For diſtant *Troy* refus'd to ſail the ſeas:
Perhaps their ſwords ſome nobler quarrel draws,
Aſham'd to combate in their ſiſter's cauſe.
So ſpoke the fair, nor knew her brother's doom,
Wrapt in the cold embraces of the tomb;
Adorn'd with honours in their native ſhore,
Silent they ſlept, and heard of wars no more.
Meantime the heralds, thro' the crowded town,
Bring the rich wine and deſtin'd victims down.
Idæus' arms the golden goblets preſt,
Who thus the venerable King addreſt.
Ariſe, O father of the *Trojan* ſtate!
The nations call, thy joyful people wait,
To ſeal the truce, and end the dire debate,

℣. 309. *Perhaps their ſwords.*] This is another ſtroke of *Helen's* concern: The ſenſe of her crime is perpetually afflicting her, and awakes upon every occaſion. The lines that follow, wherein *Homer* gives us to underſtand that *Caſtor* and *Pollux* were now dead, are finely introduc'd, and in the ſpirit of poetry: the muſe is ſuppos'd to know every thing, paſt and to come, and to ſee things diſtant as well as preſent.

℣. 316. *Mean time the heralds,* &c.] It may not be unpleaſing to the reader to compare the deſcription of the ceremonies of the league in the following part, with that of *Virgil* in the twelfth book. The preparations, the proceſſion of the Kings, and their congreſs, are much more ſolemn and poetical in the latter; the oath and abjurations are equally noble in both.

Paris,

Paris thy ſon, and *Sparta*'s King advance,
In meaſur'd lifts to toſs the weighty lance;
And who his rival ſhall in arms ſubdue,
His be the dame, and his the treaſure too.
Thus with a laſting league our toils may ceaſe,
And *Troy* poſſeſs her fertile fields in peace;
So ſhall the *Greeks* review their native ſhore,
Much fam'd for gen'rous ſteeds, for beauty more.
With grief he heard, and bade the chiefs prepare
To join his milk-white courſers to the car:
He mounts the ſeat, *Antenor* at his ſide;
The gentle ſteeds thro' *Scæa*'s gates they guide:
Next from the car deſcending on the plain,
Amid the *Grecian* hoſt and *Trojan* train
Slow they proceed: The ſage *Ulyſſes* then
Aroſe, and with him roſe the King of Men.
On either ſide a ſacred herald ſtands,
The wine they mix, and on each monarch's hands
Pour the full urn; then draws the *Grecian* Lord
His cutlace ſheath'd beſide his pond'rous ſword;
From the ſign'd victims crops the curling hair,
The heralds part it, and the Princes ſhare;
Then

v. 342. *The curling hair.*] We have here the whole ceremonial of the ſolemn oath, as it was obſerv'd anciently by the

Then loudly thus before th' attentive bands
He calls the Gods, and ſpreads his lifted hands.
O firſt and greateſt pow'r! whom all obey,
Who high on *Ida*'s holy mountain ſway,
Eternal *Jove!* and you bright orb that roll
From eaſt to weſt, and view from pole to pole!
Thou mother *Earth!* and all ye living *floods!*
Infernal *Furies,* and *Tartarean* Gods,
Who rule the dead, and horrid woes prepare
For perjur'd Kings, and all who falſly ſwear!
Hear, and be witneſs. If, by *Paris* ſlain,
Great *Menelaus* preſs the fatal plain;
The Dame and treaſures let the *Trojan* keep,
And *Greece* returning plow the watry deep.
If by my brother's lance the *Trojan* bleed;
Be his the wealth and beauteous dame decreed:

nations our author deſcribes. I muſt take this occaſion of remarking that we might ſpare our ſelves the trouble of reading moſt books of *Grecian antiquities,* only by being well verſ'd in *Homer*. They are generally bare tranſcriptions of him, but with this unneceſſary addition, that after having quoted any thing in verſe, they ſay the ſame over again in proſe. The *Antiquitates Homericæ* of *Feithius* may ſerve as an inſtance of this. What my Lord *Bacon* obſerves of authors in general, is particularly applicable to theſe of Antiquities, that they write for oſtentation not for inſtruction, and that their works are perpetual repetitions.

Th' ap-

Th' appointed fine let *Ilion* justly pay,
And ev'ry age record the signal day.
This if the *Phrygians* shall refuse to yield,
Arms must revenge, and *Mars* decide the field.
With that the Chief the tender victims slew,
And in the dust their bleeding bodies threw:

ỳ. 361. *And age to age record the signal day.*] Ἥτε καὶ ἐσσομένοισι μετ' ἀνθρώποισι πέλησθαι. This seems the natural sense of the line, and not as Madam *Dacier* renders it, *The tribute shall be paid to the posterity of the* Greeks *for ever.* I think she is single in that explication, the majority of the interpreters taking it to signify that the victory of the *Grecians* and this pecuniary acknowledgment *should be recorded to all posterity.* If it means any more than this, at least it cannot come up to the sense Madam *Dacier* gives it; for a nation put under perpetual tribute is rather enslaved, than receiv'd to friendship and alliance, which are the terms of *Agamemnon*'s speech. It seems rather to be a fine, demanded as a recompence for the expences of the war, which being made over to the *Greeks*, should *remain to their posterity for ever*, that is to say, which they should never be molested for, or which should never be re-demanded in any age as a case of injury. The phrase is the same we use at this day, when any purchase or grant is at once made over to a man *and his heirs for ever.* With this will agree the *Scholiast*'s note, which tells us the mulct was reported to have been half the goods then in the besieg'd city.

ỳ. 364. *The chief the tender victims slew.*] One of the grand objections which the ignorance of some moderns has rais'd against *Homer*, is what they call a defect in the manners of his heroes. They are shock'd to find his Kings employ'd in such offices as slaughtering of beasts, &c. But they forget that sacrificing was the most solemn act of religion, and that Kings of old in most nations were also Chief-priests. This, among other objections of the same kind, the reader may see answer'd in the Preface.

The vital ſpirit iſſu'd at the wound,
And left the members quiv'ring on the ground.
From the ſame urn they drink the mingled wine,
And add libations to the pow'rs divine.
While thus their pray'rs united mount the ſky;
Hear mighty *Jove!* and hear ye Gods on high!
And may their blood, who firſt the league confound
Shed like this wine, diſtain the thirſty ground;
May all their conſorts ſerve promiſcuous luſt,
And all their race be ſcatter'd as the duſt!
Thus either hoſt their imprecations join'd,
Which *Jove* refus'd, and mingled with the wind.
The rites now finiſh'd, rev'rend *Priam* roſe,
And thus expreſs'd a heart o'ercharg'd with woes.
Ye *Greeks* and *Trojans*, let the chiefs engage,
But ſpare the weakneſs of my feeble age:
In yonder walls that object let me ſhun,
Nor view the danger of ſo dear a ſon.
Whoſe arms ſhall conquer, and what Prince ſhall fall,
Heav'n only knows, for heav'n diſpoſes all.
This ſaid, the hoary King no longer ſtay'd,
But on his car the ſlaughter'd victims laid;
Then ſeiz'd the reins his gentle ſteeds to guide,
And drove to *Troy*, *Antenor* at his ſide.

Bold

Bold *Hector* and *Ulysses* now dispose
The lists of combate, and the ground inclose;
Next to decide by sacred lots prepare,
Who first shall launce his pointed spear in air.
The people pray with elevated hands,
And words like these are heard thro' all the bands,
Immortal *Jove!* high heav'n's superior lord,
On lofty *Ida's* holy mount ador'd!
Whoe'er involv'd us in this dire debate,
Oh give that author of the war to fate
And shades eternal! let division cease,
And joyful nations join in leagues of peace.
With eyes averted *Hector* hasts to turn
The lots of fight, and shakes the brazen urn.
Then, *Paris*, thine leap'd forth, by fatal chance
Ordain'd the first to whirl the weighty lance.
Both armies sate, the combate to survey,
Beside each chief his azure armour lay,
And round the lists the gen'rous coursers neigh.
The beauteous warrior now arrays for fight,
In gilded arms magnificently bright;
The purple cuishes clasp his thighs around,
With flow'rs adorn'd, with silver buckles bound:

Lycaon's cors'let his fair body dreſt,
Brac'd in, and fitted to his ſoftet breaſt;
A radiant baldric, o'er his ſhoulder ty'd,
Suſtain'd the ſword that glitter'd at his ſide;
His youthful face a poliſh'd helm o'erſpread;
The waving horſe-hair nodded on his head:
His figur'd ſhield, a ſhining orb, he takes,
And in his hand a pointed jav'lin ſhakes.
With equal ſpeed, and fir'd by equal charms,
The *Spartan* hero ſheaths his limbs in arms.
Now round the liſts th' admiring armies ſtand,
With jav'lins fix'd, the *Greek* and *Trojan* band.
Amidſt the dreadful vale, the Chiefs advance,
All pale with rage, and ſhake the threat'ning lance.
The *Trojan* firſt his ſhining jav'lin threw;
Full on *Atrides* ringing ſhield it flew,
Nor pierc'd the brazen orb, but with a bound
Leap'd from the buckler blunted on the ground.
Atrides then his maſſy lance prepares,
In act to throw, but firſt prefers his pray'rs.
Give me, great *Jove!* to puniſh lawleſs luſt,
And lay the *Trojan* gaſping in the duſt:

Deſtroy

ỳ. 433. *Give me, great* Jove.] *Homer* puts a prayer in the mouth of *Menelaus*, but none in *Paris*'s: *Menelaus* is the perſon injur'd

Destroy th' aggressor, aid my righteous cause,
Avenge the breach of hospitable laws!
Let this example future times reclaim,
And guard from wrong fair friendship's holy name.
He said, and poiz'd in air the jav'lin sent,
Thro' *Paris'* shield the forceful weapon went,
His cors'let pierces, and his garment rends,
And glancing downward, near his flank descends.
The wary *Trojan* bending from the blow,
Eludes the death, and disappoints his foe:
But fierce *Atrides* wav'd his sword, and strook
Full on his casque; the crested helmet shook;
The brittle steel, unfaithful to his hand,
Broke short: the fragments glitter'd on the sand.
The raging warrior to the spacious skies
Rais'd his upbraiding voice, and angry eyes:

injur'd and innocent, and may therefore apply to God for justice; but *Paris* who is the criminal, remains silent. *Spondanus.*

ỳ. 447. *The brittle steel, unfaithful to his hand, Broke short*—— This verse is cut, to express the thing it describes, the snapping short of the sword. 'Tis the observation of *Eustathius* on this line of the original, that we do not only see the action, but imagine we hear the sound of the breaking sword in that of the words. Τριχθὰ τε καὶ τετραχθὰ διατρυφὲν, ἔκπεσε χειρός. And that *Homer* design'd it, may appear from his having twice put in the Θῆτα (which was a letter unnecessary) to cause this harshness in the verse. As this beauty could not be preserv'd in our language, it is endeavour'd in the translation to supply it with something parallel.

Then

Then is it vain in *Jove* himſelf to truſt?
And is it thus the Gods aſſiſt the juſt?
When crimes provoke us, heav'n ſucceſs denies;
The dart falls harmleſs, and the faulchion flies.
Furious he ſaid, and tow'rd the *Grecian* crew
(Seiz'd by the creſt) th' unhappy warrior drew;
Struggling he follow'd, while th' embroider'd thong
That ty'd his helmet, dragg'd the chief along.
Then had his ruin crown'd *Atrides'* joy,
But *Venus* trembled for the Prince of *Troy*:
Unſeen ſhe came, and burſt the golden band;
And left an empty helmet in his hand.
The caſque, enrag'd, amidſt the *Greeks* he threw;
The *Greeks* with ſmiles the poliſh'd trophy view.
Then, as once more he lifts the deadly dart,
In thirſt of vengeance, at his rival's heart,
The Queen of Love her favour'd champion ſhrouds
(For Gods can all things) in a veil of clouds.
Rais'd from the field the panting youth ſhe led,
And gently laid him on the bridal bed,
With pleaſing ſweets his fainting ſenſe renews,
And all the dome perfumes with heav'nly dews.
Meantime the brighteſt of the female kind,
The matchleſs *Helen* o'er the walls reclin'd:

To

To her, beſet with *Trojan* beauties, came
In borrow'd form, the *laughter-loving dame.
(She ſeem'd an ancient Maid, well-ſkill'd to cull
The ſnowy fleece, and wind the twiſted wool.)
The Goddeſs ſoftly ſhook her ſilken veſt
That ſhed perfumes, and whiſp'ring thus addreſt.
Haſte, happy nymph! for thee thy *Paris* calls,
Safe from the fight, in yonder lofty walls,
Fair as a God! with odours round him ſpread
He lies, and waits thee on the well-known bed:
Not like a warrior parted from the foe,
But ſome gay dancer in the publick ſhow.
She ſpoke, and *Helen*'s ſecret ſoul was mov'd;
She ſcorn'd the champion, but the man ſhe lov'd.
Fair

℣. 479. *The Goddeſs ſoftly ſhook*, &c.] *Venus* having convey'd *Paris* in ſafety to his chamber, goes to *Helena*, who had been ſpectator of his deſeat, in order to draw her to his love. The better to bring this about, ſhe firſt takes upon her the moſt proper form in the world, that of a favourite ſervant-maid, and awakens her paſſion by repreſenting to her the beautiful figure of his perſon. Next, aſſuming her own ſhape, ſhe frightens her into a complyance, notwithſtanding all the ſtruggles of *ſhame*, *fear*, and *anger*, which break out in her ſpeech to the Goddeſs. This machine is allegorical, and means no more than the power of *love* triumphing over all the conſiderations of *honour*, *eaſe*, and *ſafety*. It has an excellent effect as to the poem, in preſerving ſtill in ſome degree our good opinion of *Helena*, whom we look upon with compaſſion, as conſtrain'd by a ſuperior power, and whoſe ſpeech tends to juſtify her in the eye of the reader.

℣. 487. *She ſpoke, and* Helen's *ſecret ſoul was mov'd.*] Nothing is

3

Fair *Venus'* neck, her eyes that ſparkled fire,
And breaſt, reveal'd the Queen of ſoft deſire.
Struck with her preſence, ſtrait the lively red
Forſook her cheek; and, trembling, thus ſhe ſaid.
Then is it ſtill thy pleaſure to deceive?
And woman's frailty always to believe?
Say, to new nations muſt I croſs the main,
Or carry wars to ſome ſoft *Aſian* plain?
For whom muſt *Helen* break her ſecond vow?
What other *Paris* is thy darling now?
Left to *Atrides*, (victor in the ſtrife)
An odious conqueſt and a captive wife,
Hence let me ſail: And if thy *Paris* bear
My abſence ill, let *Venus* eaſe his care.
A hand-maid goddeſs at his ſide to wait,
Renounce the glories of thy heav'nly ſtate,
Be fix'd for ever to the *Trojan* ſhore,
His ſpouſe, or ſlave; and mount the ſkies no more.

is more fine than this; the firſt thought of *Paris*'s beauty overcomes (unawares to herſelf) the contempt ſhe had that moment conceiv'd of him upon his overthrow. This motion is but natural, and before ſhe perceives the Deity. When the affections of a woman have been throughly gained, tho' they may be alienated for a while, they ſoon return upon her. Homer *knew* (ſays Madam *Dacier*) *what a woman is capable of who had once lov'd.*

For

For me, to lawleſs love no longer led,
I ſcorn the coward, and deteſt his bed;
Elſe ſhould I merit everlaſting ſhame,
And keen reproach, from ev'ry *Phrygian* dame:
Ill ſuits it now the joys of love to know,
Too deep my anguiſh, and too wild my woe.

Then thus incens'd, the *Paphian* Queen replies;
Obey thy pow'r from whom thy glories riſe:
Shou'd *Venus* leave thee, ev'ry charm muſt fly,
Fade from thy cheek, and languiſh in thy eye.
Ceaſe to provoke me, leſt I make thee more
The world's averſion, than their love before;
Now the bright prize for which mankind engage,
Then, the ſad victim of the publick rage.

℣. 507. *For me, to lawleſs love no longer led, I ſcorn the coward.*] We have here another branch of the female character, which is, to be ruled in their attaches by *ſucceſs*. *Helen* finding the victory belong'd to *Menelaus*, accuſes herſelf ſecretly of having forſaken him for the other, and immediately entertains a high opinion of the man ſhe had once deſpiſed. One may add, that the fair ſex are generally admirers of courage, and naturally friends to great ſoldiers. *Paris* was no ſtranger to this diſpoſition in them, and had formerly endeavour'd to give his miſtreſs that opinion of him; as appears from her reproach to him afterwards.

℣. 515. *Should Venus leave thee, ev'ry charm muſt fly.*] This was the moſt dreadful of all threats, loſs of beauty and of reputation. *Helen* who had been proof to the perſonal appearance of the Goddeſs, and durſt even reproach her with bitterneſs juſt before, yields to this, and obeys all the dictates of love.

At

At this, the faireſt of her ſex obey'd,
And veil'd her bluſhes in a ſilken ſhade;
Unſeen, and ſilent, from the train ſhe moves,
Led by the Goddeſs of the Smiles and Loves.
Arriv'd, and enter'd at the Palace-gate,
The maids officious round their miſtreſs wait;
Then all diſperſing, various taſks attend;
The Queen and Goddeſs to the Prince aſcend.
Full in her *Paris'* ſight, the Queen of Love
Had plac'd the beauteous progeny of *Jove*;
Where, as he view'd her charms, ſhe turn'd away
Her glowing eyes, and thus began to ſay.
Is this the Chief, who loſt to ſenſe of ſhame
Late fled the field, and yet ſurvives his fame?
Oh hadſt thou dy'd beneath the righteous ſword
Of that brave man whom once I call'd my Lord!

℣. 531. *She turn'd away her glowing eyes.*] This interview of the two lovers, plac'd oppoſite to each other, and overlook'd by *Venus*; *Paris* gazing on *Helena*, ſhe turning away her eyes, ſhining at once with anger and love, are particulars finely drawn, and painted up to all the life of nature. *Euſtathius* imagines ſhe look'd aſide in the conſciouſneſs of her own weakneſs, as apprehending that the beauty of *Paris* might cauſe her to relent. Her burſting out into paſſion and reproaches while ſhe is in this ſtate of mind, is no ill picture of frailty: *Venus* (as Madam *Dacier* obſerves) does not leave her, and fondneſs will immediately ſucceed to theſe reproaches.

The

The boaſter *Paris* oft' deſir'd the day
With *Sparta*'s King to meet in ſingle fray:
Go now, once more thy rival's rage excite,
Provoke *Atrides'*, and renew the fight:
Yet *Helen* bids thee ſtay, leſt thou unſkill'd
Shouldſt fall an eaſy conqueſt on the field.
The Prince replies, Ah ceaſe, divinely fair,
Nor add reproaches to the wounds I bear;
This day the foe prevail'd by *Pallas'* pow'r;
We yet may vanquiſh in a happier hour:
There want not Gods to favour us above;
But let the buſineſs of our life be love:
Theſe ſofter moments let delights employ,
And kind embraces ſnatch the haſty joy.
Not thus I lov'd thee, when from *Sparta's* ſhore
My fore'd, my willing heav'nly prize I bore.
When

℣. 543. *Ah ceaſe, divinely fair.*] This anſwer of *Paris* is the only one he could poſſibly have made with any ſucceſs in his circumſtance. There was no other method to reconcile her to him, but that which is generally moſt powerful with the ſex, and which *Homer* (who was learned every way) here makes uſe of.

℣. 551. *Not thus I lov'd thee.*] However *Homer* may be admired for his conduct in this paſſage, I find a general outcry againſt *Paris* on this occaſion. *Plutarch* has led the way in his treatiſe of reading Poets, by remarking it as a moſt heinous act of incontinence in him, to go to bed to his Lady in the *day-time*. Among the commentators the moſt violent

When first entranc'd in *Cranaë*'s isle I lay,
Mix'd with thy soul, and all dissolv'd away!

Thus

lent is the moral expositor *Spondanus*, who will not so much as allow him to say a civil thing to *Helen*. *Mollis, effœminatus, & spurcus ille adulter, nihil de libidine suâ imminutum dicit, sed nunc magis eâ corripi quàm unquam aliàs, ne quidem cùm primùm ea ipsi dedit (Latini ita rectè exprimunt τὸ μέσσεσθαι in re venereâ) in insulâ* Cranaë. *Cùm alioqui homines primi concubitûs soleant esse ardentiores.* I could not deny the reader the diversion of this remark, nor *Spondanus* the glory of his zeal, who was but two and twenty when it was written. Madam *Dacier* is also very severe upon *Paris*, but for a reason more natural to a Lady: She is of opinion that the passion of the lover would scarce have been so excessive as he here describes it, but for fear of losing his mistress immediately, as foreseeing the *Greeks* would demand her. One may answer to this lively remark, that *Paris* having nothing to say for himself was obliged to testify an uncommon ardour for his Lady, at a time when complements were to pass instead of reasons. I hope to be excus'd, if (in revenge for her remark upon our sex) I observe upon the behaviour of *Helen* throughout this book, which gives a pretty natural picture of the manners of theirs. We see her first in tears, repentant, cover'd with confusion at the sight of *Priam*, and secretly inclin'd to return to her former spouse. The disgrace of *Paris* increases her dislike of him, she rails, she reproaches, she wishes his death; and after all, is prevail'd upon by one kind complement, and yields to his embraces. Methinks when this Lady's observation and mine are laid together, the best that can be made of them is to conclude, that since both the sexes have their frailties, it would be well for each to forgive the other.

It is worth looking backward, to observe the *allegory* here carry'd on with respect to *Helen*, who lives thro' this whole book in a whirl of passions, and is agitated by turns with sentiments of honour and love. The Goddesses made use of to cast the appearance of fable over the story, are *Iris* and *Venus*. When *Helen* is call'd to the tow'r to behold her former friends, *Iris* the messenger of *Juno* (the Goddess of Honour) is sent for her; and when invited to the bed-chamber

of

Thus having ſpoke, th' enamour'd *Phrygian* boy
Ruſh'd to the bed, impatient for the joy.
Him *Helen* follow'd ſlow with baſhful charms,
And claſp'd the blooming Hero in her arms.

of *Paris*, *Venus* is to beckon her out of the company. The forms they take to carry on theſe different affairs, are properly choſen: the one aſſuming the perſon of the daughter of *Antenor*, who preſs'd moſt for her being reſtor'd to *Menelaus*; the other the ſhape of an old maid, who was privy to the intrigue with *Paris* from the beginning. And in the conſequences, as the one inſpires the love of her former empire, friends and countrey; ſo the other inſtills the dread of being caſt off by all if ſhe forſook her ſecond choice, and cauſes the return of her tenderneſs to *Paris*. But if ſhe has a ſtruggle for honour, ſhe is in a bondage to Love; which gives the ſtory its turn that way, and makes *Venus* oftner appear than *Iris*. There is in one place a lover to be protected, in another a love-quarrel to be made up, in both which the Goddeſs is kindly officious. She conveys *Paris* to *Troy* when he had eſcap'd the enemy; which may ſignify his love for his miſtreſs, that hurry'd him away to juſtify himſelf before her. She ſoftens and terrifies *Helen*, in order to make up the breach between them: And even when that affair is finiſh'd, we do not find the Poet diſmiſſes her from the chamber, whatever privacies the lovers had a mind to: In which circumſtance he ſeems to draw aſide the veil of his Allegory, and to let the reader at laſt into this meaning of it, That the Goddeſs of Love has been all the while nothing more than the Paſſion of it.

v. 553, *When firſt entranc'd in* Cranaë's *iſle*] It is in the original Νήσῳ ἐν ἠγαθέῃ ἱμείρεται ἐλθέμεναι, ἠδ' ἄρα δὴ. The true ſenſe of which is expreſs'd in the tranſlation. I cannot but take notice of a ſmall piece of Prudery in Madam *Dacier*, who is exceeding careful of *Helen*'s character. She turns this paſſage as if *Paris* had only her *conſent to be her husband* in this iſland. *Pauſanias* explains this line in another manner, and tells us it was here that *Paris* had firſt the enjoyment of her, that in gratitude for his happineſs he built a Temple of *Venus Migonitis*, the mingler or coupler, and that the neighbouring coaſt where it was erected was call'd *Migonia* from μιγῆναι, *a miſcendo*. *Pauſ. Laconiſis.*

While

While theſe to love's delicious rapture yield,
The ſtern *Atrides'* rages round the field:
So ſome fell lion whom the woods obey,
Roars thro' the deſart, and demands his prey.
Paris he ſeeks, impatient to deſtroy,
But ſeeks in vain along the troops of *Troy*;
Ev'n thoſe had yielded to a foe ſo brave
The recreant warrior, hateful as the grave.
Then ſpeaking thus, the King of Kings aroſe;
Ye *Trojans*, *Dardans*, all our gen'rous foes!
Hear and atteſt! from heav'n with conqueſt crown'd,
Our brother's arms the juſt ſucceſs have found:
Be therefore now the *Spartan* wealth reſtor'd,
Let *Argive Helen* own her lawful Lord;
Th' appointed fine let *Ilion* juſtly pay,
And age to age record this ſignal day.
He ceas'd; his army's loud applauſes riſe,
And the long ſhout runs echoing thro' the ſkies,

Jupiter having assembled the Gods in his Palace, by Junds advice Sends Minerva to the Trojan Camp, to induce them to break the Treaty now with the Greeks, and to Oblige them to recommence Hostilities.

THE FOURTH BOOK OF THE ILIAD.

THE

The ARGUMENT.

The breach of the Truce, and the firſt Battel.

THE *Gods deliberate in council concerning the* Trojan *war: They agree upon the continuation of it, and* Jupiter *ſends down* Minerva *to break the truce. She perſuades* Pandarus *to aim an arrow at* Menelaus, *who is wounded, but cured by* Machaon. *In the mean time ſome of the* Trojan *troops attack the* Greeks. Agamemnon *is diſtinguiſhed in all the parts of a good General; he reviews the troops, and exhorts the Leaders, ſome by praiſes, and others by reproofs.* Neſtor *is particularly celebrated for his military diſcipline. The battel joins, and great numbers are ſlain on both ſides.*

The ſame day continues thro' this, as thro' the laſt book, (as it does alſo thro' the two following, and almoſt to the end of the ſeventh book.) The ſcene *is wholly in the field before* Troy.

THE

THE

*FOURTH BOOK

OF THE

ILIAD.

AND now *Olympus'* shining gates unfold;
The Gods, with *Jove*, assume their Thrones of Gold;
Immortal

* It was from the beginning of this book that *Virgil* has taken that of his tenth *Æneid*, as the whole tenour of the story in this and the last book is followed in the twelfth. The truce and the solemn oath, the breach of it by a dart thrown by *Telamonius*, *Juno*'s inciting the *Latins* to renew the war, the wound of *Æneas*, his speedy cure, and the battel ensuing, all these are manifestly copied from hence. The solemnity, surprize, and variety of these circumstances seem'd to him of importance enough, to build the whole catastrophe

Immortal *Hebe*, fresh with bloom divine,
The golden goblet crowns with purple wine:
While the full bowls flow round, the pow'rs employ
Their careful eyes on long-contended *Troy*.
When *Jove*, dispos'd to tempt *Saturnia*'s spleen,
Thus wak'd the fury of his partial Queen.
Two pow'rs divine the son of *Atreus* aid,
Imperial *Juno*, and the martial maid;
But high in heav'n they sit, and gaze from far,
The tame spectators of his deeds of war.

of his work upon them; tho' in *Homer* they are but openings to the general action, and such as in their warmth are still exceeded by all that follow them. They are chosen, we grant, by *Virgil* with great judgment, and conclude his Poem with a becoming majesty: Yet the finishing his scheme with that which is but the coolest part of *Homer*'s action, tends in some degree to shew the disparity of the poetical fire in these two authors.

℣. 3. *Immortal* Hebe.] The Goddess of Youth is introduc'd as an attendant upon the banquets of the Gods, to shew that the divine beings enjoy an eternal youth, and that their life is a felicity without end. *Dacier.*

℣. 9. *Two pow'rs divine.*] *Jupiter*'s reproaching these two Goddesses with neglecting to assist *Menelaus*, proceeds (as M. *Dacier* remarks) from the affection he bore to *Troy*: Since if *Menelaus* by their help had gain'd a compleat victory, the siege had been rais'd, and the city deliver'd. On the contrary, *Juno* and *Minerva* might suffer *Paris* to escape; as the method to continue the war to the total destruction of *Troy*. And accordingly a few lines after we find them complotting together, and contriving a new scene of miseries to the *Trojans*.

Not

Not thus fair *Venus* helps her favour'd knight,
The Queen of Pleaſures ſhares the toils of fight,
Each danger wards, and conſtant in her care
Saves in the moment of the laſt deſpair.
Her act has reſcu'd *Paris'* forfeit life,
Tho' great *Atrides* gain'd the glorious ſtrife.

℣. 18. *Tho' great* Atrides *gain'd the glorious ſtrife.*] *Jupiter* here makes it a queſtion, Whether the foregoing combate ſhould determine the controverſy, or the peace be broken? His putting it thus, *that* Paris *is not killed, but* Menelaus *has the victory*, gives a hint for a diſpute whether the conditions of the treaty were valid or annull'd, that is to ſay, whether the controverſy was to be determin'd by the *victory* or by the *death* of one of the combatants. Accordingly it has been diſputed whether the articles were really binding to the *Trojans* or not? *Plutarch* has treated the queſtion in his *Sympoſiacks*, *l.* 9. *qu.* 13. The ſubſtance is this. In the firſt propoſal of the challenge *Paris* only mentions the victory, *And who his rival ſhall in arms ſubdue:* Nor does *Hector* who carries it ſay any more. However *Menelaus* underſtands it of the death by what he replies: *Fall he that muſt beneath his rival's arms, And live the reſt*——*Iris* to *Helen* ſpeaks only of the former, and *Ideus* to *Priam* repeats the ſame words. But in the ſolemn oath *Agamemnon* ſpecifies the latter, *If by* Paris *ſlain*— and *if by my brother's arms the* Trojan *bleed*. *Priam* alſo underſtands it of both, ſaying at his leaving the field, *What Prince ſhall fall heav'n only knows!*— (I do not cite the *Greek* becauſe the *Engliſh* has preſerv'd the ſame nicety.) *Paris* himſelf confeſſes he has loſt the victory, in his ſpeech to *Helen*, which he would hardly have done had the whole depended on that alone: And laſtly *Menelaus* (after the conqueſt is clearly his by the flight of *Paris*) is ſtill ſearching round the field to kill him, as if all were of no effect without the death of his adverſary. It appears from hence that the *Trojans* had no ill pretence to break the treaty, ſo that *Homer* ought not to have been directly accus'd of making *Jupiter* the author of perjury in what follows, which is one of the chief of *Plato's* objections againſt him.

Then say ye Pow'rs! what signal issue waits
To crown this deed, and finish all the Fates?
Shall heav'n by peace the bleeding kingdoms spare,
Or rowze the Furies and awake the war?
Yet, would the Gods for human good provide,
Atrides soon might gain his beauteous bride,
Still *Priam*'s walls in peaceful honours grow,
And thro' his gates the crowding nations flow.

Thus while he spoke, the Queen of heav'n, enrag'd,
And Queen of war, in close consult engag'd:
Apart they sit, their deep designs employ,
And meditate the future woes of *Troy*.
Tho' secret anger swell'd *Minerva*'s breast,
The prudent Goddess yet her wrath suppress;
But *Juno*, impotent of passion, broke
Her sullen silence, and with fury spoke.

Shall then, O tyrant of th' aetherial reign!
My schemes, my labours, and my hopes be vain?

v. 31. *Tho' secret anger swell'd* Minerva's *breast.*] *Spondanus* takes notice that *Minerva*, who in the first book had restrain'd the anger of *Achilles*, had now an opportunity of exerting the same conduct in respect to herself. We may bring the parallel close, by observing that she had before her in like manner a superior, who had provok'd her by sharp expressions, and whose counsels ran against her sentiments. In all which the Poet takes care to preserve her still in the practice of that *Wisdom* of which she was Goddess.

Have I, for this, ſhook *Ilion* with alarms,
Aſſembled nations, ſet two worlds in arms?
To ſpread the war, I flew from ſhore to ſhore;
Th' immortal courſers ſcarce the labour bore.
At length ripe vengeance o'er their heads impends,
But *Jove* himſelf the faithleſs race defends:
Loth as thou art to puniſh lawleſs luſt,
Not all the Gods are partial and unjuſt.

The Sire whoſe thunder ſhakes the cloudy ſkies,
Sighs from his inmoſt ſoul, and thus replies;
Oh laſting rancour! oh inſatiate hate
To *Phrygia*'s Monarch, and the *Phrygian* ſtate!
What high offence has fir'd the wife of *Jove*,
Can wretched mortals harm the pow'rs above?
That *Troy* and *Troy*'s whole race thou wou'dſt con-[found,
And yon' fair ſtructures level with the ground?
Haſte, leave the ſkies, fulfil thy ſtern deſire,
Burſt all her gates, and wrap her walls in fire!
Let *Priam* bleed! if yet thou thirſt for more,
Bleed all his ſons, and *Ilion* float with gore,

To

' *v.* 55. *Let* Priam *bleed*, &c.] We find in *Perſius*'s ſatyrs the name of *Labeo*, as an ill poet who made a miſerable tranſlation of the *Iliad*; one of thoſe verſes is ſtill preſerv'd, and happens to be that of this place.

Crudum manduces Priamum, Priamique piſinnos.

To boundleſs vengeance the wide realm be giv'n,
'Till vaſt deſtruction glut the Queen of Heav'n!
So let it be, and *Jove* his peace enjoy,
When heav'n no longer hears the name of *Troy*.
But ſhould this arm prepare to wreak our hate
On thy lov'd realms, whoſe guilt demands their fate,
Preſume not thou the lifted bolt to ſtay,
Remember *Troy*, and give the vengeance way.
For know, of all the num'rous towns that riſe
Beneath the rolling ſun, and ſtarry ſkies,
Which Gods have rais'd, or earth-born men enjoy;
None ſtands ſo dear to *Jove* as ſacred *Troy*.

It may ſeem from this, that his tranſlation was ſervilely literal (as the old *Scholiaſt* on *Perſius* obſerves.) And one cannot but take notice that *Ogilby*'s and *Hobbes*'s in this place are not unlike *Lubin*'s.

Both King and people thou would'ſt eas alive.
And eat up Priam *and his children all.*

℣. 61. *But ſhould this arm prepare to wreak our hate,*
On thy lov'd realms ———]

Homer in this place has made *Jupiter* to propheſy the deſtruction of *Mycenæ* the favour'd city of *Juno*, which happen'd a little before the time of our author. *Strab. l.* 8. *The* Trojan *war being over, and the kingdom of* Agamemnon *deſtroy'd*, Mycenæ *daily decreas'd after the return of the* Heraclidæ: *For theſe becoming maſters of* Peloponneſus, *caſt out the old inhabitants; ſo that they who poſſeſs'd* Argos *overcame* Mycenæ *alſo, and contracted both into one body. A ſhort time after*, Mycenæ *was deſtroy'd by the* Argives, *and not the leaſt remains of it are now to be found.*

No mortals merit more diſtinguiſh'd grace
Than god-like *Priam*, or than *Priam's* race.
Still to our name their hecatombs expire,
And altars blaze with unextinguiſh'd fire.
At this the Goddeſs roll'd her radiant eyes,
Then on the Thund'rer fix'd them, and replies.
Three towns are *Juno's* on the *Grecian* plains,
More dear than all th' extended earth contains;
Mycenæ, *Argos*, and the *Spartan* wall;
Theſe thou may'ſt raze, nor I forbid their fall:
'Tis not in me the vengeance to remove;
The crime's ſufficient that they ſhare my love.
Of pow'r ſuperior why ſhould I complain?
Reſent I may, but muſt reſent in vain.
Yet ſome diſtinction *Juno* might require,
Sprung with thy ſelf from one celeſtial Sire,
A Goddeſs born to ſhare the realms above,
And ſtyl'd the conſort of the thund'ring *Jove*;
Nor thou a wife and ſiſter's right deny;
Let both conſent, and both by turns comply;
So ſhall the Gods our joint decrees obey,
And heav'n ſhall act as we direct the way.
See ready *Pallas* waits thy high commands,
To raiſe in arms the *Greek* and *Phrygian* bands;

Their ſudden friendſhip by her arts may ceaſe,
And the proud *Trojans* firſt infringe the peace.
The Sire of men, and Monarch of the ſky
Th' advice approv'd, and bade *Minerva* fly,
Diſſolve the league, and all her arts employ
To make the breach the faithleſs act of *Troy*.
Fir'd with the charge, ſhe headlong urg'd her flight,
And ſhot like light'ning from *Olympus'* height.
As the red comet, from *Saturnius* ſent
To fright the nations with a dire portent,

¶. 96. *Th' advice approv'd.*] This is one of the places for which *Homer* is blamed by *Plato*, who introduces *Socrates* reprehending it in his dialogue of the republick. And indeed if it were granted that the *Trojans* had no right to break this treaty, the preſent machine where *Juno* is made to propoſe perjury, *Jupiter* to allow it, and *Minerva* to be commiſſion'd to haſten the execution of it, would be one of the hardeſt to be reconciled to reaſon in the whole Poem. Unleſs even then one might imagine, that *Homer*'s heaven is ſometimes no more than an ideal world of abſtracted beings; and ſo every motion which riſes in the mind of man is attributed to the quality to which it belongs, with the name of the Deity who is ſuppos'd to preſide over that quality ſuperadded to it. In this ſenſe the preſent allegory is eaſy enough. *Pandarus* thinks it *prudence* to gain honour and wealth at the hands of the *Trojans* by deſtroying *Menelaus*. This ſentiment is alſo incited by a notion of *glory*, of which *Juno* is repreſented as Goddeſs. *Jupiter* who is ſuppos'd to know the thoughts of men, permits the action which he is not author of; but ſends a prodigy at the ſame time to give warning of a coming miſchief, and accordingly we find both armies deſcanting upon the ſight of it in the following lines.

(A fatal

(A fatal ſign to armies on the plain,
Or trembling ſailors on the wintry main)
With ſweeping glories glides along in air,
And ſhakes the ſparkles from its blazing hair:
Between both armies thus, in open ſight,
Shot the bright Goddeſs in a trail of light.
With eyes erect the gazing hoſts admire
The pow'r deſcending, and the heav'ns on fire!
The Gods (they cry'd) the Gods this ſignal ſent,
And fate now labours with ſome vaſt event:
Jove ſeals the league, or bloodier ſcenes prepares;
Jove, the great Arbiter of peace and wars!
They ſaid, while *Pallas* tho' the *Trojan* throng
(In ſhape a mortal) paſs'd diſguis'd along.
Like bold *Laödocus*, her courſe ſhe bent,
Who from *Antenor* trac'd his high deſcent.
Amidſt the ranks *Lycaön*'s ſon ſhe found,
The warlike *Pandarus*, for ſtrength renown'd;
Whoſe

℣. 120. Pandarus *for ſtrength renown'd.*] *Homer*, ſays *Plutarch* in his treatiſe of the *Pythian Oracle*, makes not the Gods to uſe all perſons indifferently as their ſecond agents, but each according to the powers he is endu'd with by art or nature. For a proof of this, he puts us in mind how *Minerva* when ſhe would perſuade the *Greeks*, ſeeks for *Ulyſſes*; when ſhe would break the truce, for *Pandarus*; and when ſhe would conquer, for *Diomed*. If we conſult the *Scholia* upon this in-

Whoſe ſquadrons, led from black *Æſepus'* flood,
With flaming ſhields in martial circle ſtood.
To him the Goddeſs: *Phrygian!* canſt thou hear
A well-tim'd counſel with a willing ear?
What praiſe were thine, could'ſt thou direct thy dart
Amidſt his triumph, to the *Spartan*'s heart?
What gifts from *Troy*, from *Paris* wou'd'ſt thou gain,
Thy countrey's foe, the *Grecian* glory ſlain?
Then ſeize th' occaſion, dare the mighty deed,
Aim at his breaſt, and may that aim ſucceed!
But firſt, to ſpeed the ſhaft, addreſs thy vow
To *Lycian Phœbus* with the ſilver bow,
And ſwear the firſtlings of thy flock to pay
On *Zelia*'s altars, to the God of day.
He heard, and madly at the motion pleas'd,
His poliſh'd bow with haſty raſhneſs ſeiz'd,

ſtance, they give ſeveral reaſons why *Pandarus* was particularly proper for the occaſion. The Goddeſs went not to the *Trojans*, becauſe they hated *Paris*, and (as we are told in the end of the foregoing book) would rather have given him up, than have done an ill action for him: She therefore looks among the allies, and finds *Pandarus* who was of a nation noted for perfidiouſneſs, and had a ſoul avaricious enough to be capable of engaging in this treachery for the hopes of a reward from *Paris*; as appears by his being ſo covetous as not to bring horſes to the ſiege for fear of the expence or loſs of them; as he tells *Æneas* in the fifth book.

'Twas

'Twas form'd of horn, and ſmooth'd with artful toil;
A mountain goat reſign'd the ſhining ſpoil,
Who pierc'd long ſince beneath his arrows bled;
The ſtately quarry on the cliffs lay dead,
And ſixteen palms his brows large honours ſpread:
The workman join'd, and ſhap'd the bended horns,
And beaten gold each taper point adorns.
This by the *Greeks* unſeen, the warrior bends,
Screen'd by the ſhields of his ſurrounding friends.

There

℣. 141. *Sixteen palms.*] Both the horns together made this length; and not each, as Madam *Dacier* renders it. I do not object it as an improbability, that the horns were of ſixteen palms each; but that this would be an extravagant and unmanageable ſize for a bow, is evident.

℣. 144. *This, by the* Greeks *unſeen, the warrior bends.*] The Poet having held us thro' the foregoing book, in expectation of a peace, makes the conditions be here broken after ſuch a manner, as ſhould oblige the *Greeks* to act thro' the war with that irreconcileable fury, which affords him the opportunity of exerting the full fire of his own genius. The ſhot of *Pandarus* being therefore of ſuch conſequence (and as he calls it, the ἔρμα ὀϊζύων, the *foundation of future woes*) it was thought fit not to paſs it over in a few words, like the flight of every common arrow, but to give it a deſcription ſome way correſponding to its importance. For this, he ſurrounds it with a train of circumſtances; the hiſtory of the bow, the bending it, the covering *Pandarus* with ſhields, the choice of the arrow, the prayer, and poſture of the ſhooter, the ſound of the ſtring, and flight of the ſhaft; all moſt beautifully, and livelily painted. It may be obſerv'd too, how proper a time it was to expatiate in theſe particulars; when the armies being unemploy'd, and only one man acting, the Poet and his readers had leiſure to be the ſpectators of a ſingle and deliberate action. I think it will be allow'd, that the little circumſtances which

There meditates the mark; and couching low,
Fits the sharp arrow to the well-strung bow.
One, from a hundred feather'd deaths he chose,
Fated to wound, and cause of future woes.
Then offers vows with hecatombs to crown
Apollo's altars in his native town.

Now with full force the yielding horn he bends,
Drawn to an arch, and joins the doubling ends;
Close to his breast he strains the nerve below,
'Till the barb'd point approach the circling bow;
Th' impatient weapon whizzes on the wing;
Sounds the tough horn, and twangs the quiv'ring string.

But thee, *Atrides!* in that dang'rous hour
The Gods forget not, nor thy guardian pow'r.
Pallas assists, and (weaken'd in its force)
Diverts the weapon from its destin'd course:

So

are sometimes thought too redundant in *Homer*, have a wonderful beauty in this place. *Virgil* has not fail'd to copy it, and with the greatest happiness imaginable.

Dixit, & auratâ volucrem Threïssa sagittam
Depromsit pharetrâ, cornuque infensa tetendit,
Et duxit longè, donec curvata coïrent
Inter se capita, & manibus jam tangeret æquis,
Lævâ diem ferri, dextrâ nervique papillam.
Extemplo teli stridorem aurasque sonantes
Audit una Aruns, hæsitque in corpore ferrum.

℣. 160. Pallas *assists, and (weaken'd in its force) Diverts the weapon*—

So from her babe, when ſlumber ſeals his eye,
The watchful mother wafts th' envenom'd fly.
Juſt where his belt with golden buckles join'd,
Where linen folds the double corſlet lin'd,
She turn'd the ſhaft, with hiſſing from above,
Paſs'd the broad belt, and thro' the corſlet drove;
The folds it pierc'd, the plaited linen tore,
And raz'd the ſkin, and drew the purple gore.
As when ſome ſtately trappings are decreed
To grace a monarch on his bounding ſteed,
A nymph

pon——] For ſhe only deſign'd, by all this action to encreaſe the glory of the *Greeks* in the taking of *Troy*: Yet ſome Commentators have been ſo ſtupid, as to wonder that *Pallas* ſhould be employ'd firſt in the wounding of *Menelaus*, and after in the protecting him.

ver. 163. *Wafts th' envenom'd fly.*] This is one of thoſe humble compariſons which *Homer* ſometimes uſes to diverſify his ſubject, but a very exact one in its kind, and correſponding in all its parts. The care of the Goddeſs, the unſuſpecting ſecurity of *Menelaus*, the eaſe with which ſhe diverts the danger, and the danger itſelf, are all included in this ſhort compaſs. To which it may be added, that if the providence of heavenly powers to their creatures is expreſt by the love of a mother to her child, if men in regard to them are but as heedleſs ſleeping infants, and if thoſe dangers which may ſeem great to us, are by them as eaſily warded off as the ſimile implies; there will appear ſomething ſublime in this conception, however little or low the image may be thought at firſt ſight in reſpect to a heroe. A higher compariſon would but have tended to leſſen the diſparity between the Gods and man, and the juſtneſs of the ſimile had been loſt, as well as the grandeur of the ſentiment.

ver. 170. *As when ſome ſtately trappings*, &c.] Some have judg'd the circumſtances in this ſimile to be ſuperfluous, and think it

A nymph in *Caria* or *Mæonia* bred,
Stains the pure iv'ry with a lively red;
With equal luſtre various colours vie,
The ſhining whiteneſs, and the *Tyrian* dye.
So, great *Atrides!* ſhow'd thy ſacred blood,
As down thy ſnowy thigh diſtill'd the ſtreaming flood.

With

it foreign to the purpoſe to take notice, that this ivory was intended for the boſſes of a bridle, was laid up for a Prince, or that a woman of *Caria* or *Maonia* dy'd it. *Euſtathius* was of a different opinion, who extols this paſſage for the variety it preſents, and the learning it includes: We learn from hence that the *Lydians* and *Carians* were famous in the firſt times for their ſtaining in purple, and that the women excell'd in works of ivory; As alſo that there were certain ornaments which only Kings and Princes were privileged to wear. But without having recourſe to antiquities to juſtify this particular, it may be alledg'd, that the ſimile does not conſiſt barely in the colours; it was but little to tell us, that the blood of *Menelaus* appearing on the whiteneſs of his ſkin, vyed with the purpled ivory; but this implies, that the honourable wounds of a heroe are a beautiful dreſs of war, and become him as much as the moſt gallant ornaments in which he takes the field. *Virgil*, 'tis true, has omitted the circumſtance in his imitation of this compariſon, *Æn.* 12.

Induxe ſanguineo veluti violaverit oſtro
Si quis ebur———

But in this he judges only for himſelf, and does not condemn *Homer*. It was by no means proper that his ivory ſhould have been a piece of martial accoutrement, when he apply'd it ſo differently, transferring it from the wounds of a heroe to the bluſhes of the fair *Lavinia*.

℣. 176. *As down thy ſnowy thigh.*] *Homer* is very particular here, in giving the picture of the blood running in a long trace,

With horror ſeiz'd, the King of Men deſcry'd
The ſhaft infix'd, and ſaw the guſhing tide:
Nor leſs the *Spartan* fear'd, before he found
The ſhining barb appear above the wound.
Then, with a ſigh that heav'd his manly breaſt,
The royal brother thus his grief expreſt,
And graſp'd his hand; while all the *Greeks* around
With anſwering ſighs return'd the plaintive ſound.
Oh dear as life! did I for this agree
The ſolemn truce, a fatal truce to thee!

Wert

trace, lower and lower, as will appear from the words themſelves.

Τοῖσί τοι Μενέλαε μιάνθη αἵματι μηρὸ
Εὐφυέες, κνῆμαί τ', ἠδὲ σφυρὰ καλ' ὑπένερθε.

The tranſlator has not thought fit to mention every one of theſe parts, firſt the thigh, then the leg, then the foot, which might be tedious in *Engliſh*: But the Author's deſign being only to image the ſtreaming of the blood, it ſeem'd equivalent to make it trickle thro' the length of an *Alexandrian* line.

℣. 186. *Oh dear as life*, &c.] This incident of the wound of *Menelaus* gives occaſion to *Homer* to draw a fine deſcription of fraternal love in *Agamemnon*. On the firſt ſight of it, he is ſtruck with amaze and confuſion, and now breaks out in tenderneſs and grief. He firſt accuſes himſelf as the cauſe of this misfortune, by having conſented to expoſe his brother to the ſingle combate, which had drawn on this fatal conſequence. Next he inveighs againſt the *Trojans* in general for their perfidiouſneſs, as not yet knowing that it was the act of *Pandarus* only. He then comforts himſelf with the confidence that the Gods will revenge him upon *Troy*; but doubts by what hands this puniſhment may be inflicted, as fearing the death

of

Wert thou expos'd to all the hoſtile train,
To fight for *Greece*, and conquer, to be ſlain?
The race of *Trojans* in thy ruin join,
And faith is ſcorn'd by all the perjur'd line.
Not thus our vows, confirm'd with wine and gore,
Thoſe hands we plighted, and thoſe oaths we ſwore,
Shall all be vain: When heav'n's revenge is ſlow,
Jove but prepares to ſtrike the fiercer blow.
The day ſhall come, that great avenging day,
Which *Troy*'s proud glories in the duſt ſhall lay,
When *Priam*'s pow'rs and *Priam*'s ſelf ſhall fall,
And one prodigious ruin ſwallow all.
I ſee the God, already, from the pole
Bare his red arm, and bid the thunder roll;
I ſee th' Eternal all his fury ſhed,
And ſhake his *Ægis* o'er their guilty head.
Such mighty woes on perjur'd Princes wait:
But thou, alas! deſerv'ſt a happier fate.
Still muſt I mourn the period of thy days,
And only mourn, without my ſhare of praiſe?

of *Menelaus* will force the *Greeks* to return with ſhame to their country. There is no contradiction in all this, but on the other ſide a great deal of nature, in the confuſed ſentiments of *Agamemnon* on the occaſion, as they are very well explained by *Spondanus*.

Depriv'd

Depriv'd of thee, the heartleſs *Greeks* no more
Shall dream of conqueſts on the hoſtile ſhore;
Troy ſeiz'd of *Helen*, and our glory loſt,
Thy bones ſhall moulder on a foreign coaſt!
While ſome proud *Trojan* thus inſulting cries,
(And ſpurns the duſt where *Menelaus* lies)
" Such are the trophies *Greece* from *Ilion* brings,
" And ſuch the conqueſts of her King of Kings!
" Lo his proud veſſels ſcatter'd o'er the main,
" And unreveng'd, his mighty brother ſlain.
Oh! e're that dire diſgrace ſhall blaſt my fame,
O'erwhelm me, earth! and hide a monarch's ſhame.
He ſaid: A leader's and a brother's fears
Poſſeſs his ſoul, which thus the *Spartan* cheers.

℣. 212. *While ſome proud* Trojan, *&c.*] *Agamemnon* here calls to mind how, upon the death of his brother, the ineffectual preparations and actions againſt *Troy* muſt become a deriſion to the world. This is in its own nature a very irritating ſentiment, tho' it were never ſo careleſſly expreſt; but the Poet has found out a peculiar air of aggravation, in making him bring all the conſequences before his eyes, in a picture of their *Trojan* enemies gathering round the tomb of the unhappy *Menelaus*, elated with pride, inſulting the dead, and throwing out diſdainful expreſſions and curſes againſt him and his family. There is nothing which could more effectually repreſent a ſtate of anguiſh, than the drawing ſuch an image as this, which ſhews a man increaſing his preſent unhappineſs by the proſpect of a future train of misfortunes.

Let

Let not thy words the warmth of *Greece* abate;
The feeble dart is guiltleſs of my fate:
Stiff with the rich embroider'd work around,
My vary'd belt repell'd the flying wound.
To whom the King. My brother and my friend;
Thus, always thus, may heav'n thy life defend!
Now ſeek ſome ſkilful hand, whoſe pow'rful art
May ſtanch th' effuſion, and extract the dart.
Herald, be ſwift, and bid *Machaön* bring
His ſpeedy ſuccour to the *Spartan* King;
Pierc'd with a winged ſhaft (the deed of *Troy*)
The *Grecians* ſorrow, and the *Dardan*'s joy.
With haſty zeal the ſwift *Talthybius* flies;
Thro' the thick files he darts his ſearching eyes,
And finds *Machaön*, where ſublime he ſtands
In arms encircled with his native bands:
Then thus: *Machaön*, to the King repair,
His wounded brother claims thy timely care;

¶. 222. *Let not thy words the warmth of* Greece *abate.*] In *Agamemnon*, *Homer* has ſhown an example of a tender nature and fraternal affection, and now in *Menelaus* he gives us one of a generous warlike patience and preſence of mind. He ſpeaks of his own caſe with no other regard, but as this accident of his wound may tend to the diſcouragement of the ſoldiers; and exhorts the General to beware of dejecting their ſpirits from the proſecution of the war. *Spondanus.*

Pierc'd

Pierc'd by ſome *Lycian* or *Dardanian* bow,
A grief to us, a triumph to the foe.
The heavy tidings griev'd the godlike man;
Swift to his ſuccour thro' the ranks he ran:
The dauntleſs King yet ſtanding firm he found,
And all the chiefs in deep concern around.
Where to the ſteely point the reed was join'd,
The ſhaft he drew, but left the head behind.
Strait the broad belt with gay embroid'ry grac'd,
He loos'd; the corſlet from his breaſt unbrac'd;
Then ſuck'd the blood, and ſov'reign balm infus'd,
Which *Chiron* gave, and *Æſculapius* us'd.
While round the Prince the *Greeks* employ their care,
The *Trojans* ruſh tumultuous to the war;
Once more they glitter in refulgent arms,
Once more the fields are fill'd with dire alarms.
Nor had you ſeen the King of Men appear
Confus'd, unactive, or ſurpriz'd with fear; But

v. 253. *The* Trojans *ruſh tumultuous to the war.*] They advanced to the enemy in the belief that the ſhot of *Pandarus* was made by order of the Generals. *Dacier.*

v. 256. *Nor had you ſeen.*] The Poet here changes his narration, and turns himſelf to the reader in an *Apoſtrophe*. *Longinus*, in his 22d chapter, commends this figure, as cauſing a reader to become a ſpectator, and keeping his mind fixed upon the action before him. *The* Apoſtrophe (ſays he) *renders*

But fond of glory, with ſevere delight.
His beating boſom claim'd the riſing fight.
No longer with his warlike ſteeds he ſtay'd,
Or preſs'd the car with poliſh'd braſs inlay'd:
But left *Eurymedon* the reins to guide;
The fiery courſers ſnorted at his ſide.
On foot thro' all the martial ranks he moves,
And theſe encourages, and thoſe reproves.

Brave

ders us more awaken'd, more attentive, and more full of the thing deſcribed. Madam *Dacier* will have it, that it is the Muſe who addreſſes herſelf to the Poet in the ſecond perſon: 'Tis no great matter which, ſince it has equally its effect either way.

℣. 264 *Thro' all the martial ranks he moves*, &c. In the following review of the army, which takes up a great part of this book, we ſee all the ſpirit, art, and induſtry of a compleat General; together with the proper *characters* of thoſe leaders whom he incites. *Agamemnon* conſiders at this ſudden exigence, that he ſhould firſt addreſs himſelf to all in general; he divides his diſcourſe to the brave and the fearful, uſing arguments which ariſe from confidence or deſpair, paſſions which act upon us moſt forcibly: To the brave, he urges their ſecure hopes of conqueſt, ſince the Gods muſt puniſh perjury; to the timorous, their inevitable deſtruction, if the enemy ſhould burn their ſhips. After this he flies from rank to rank, applying himſelf to each ally with particular artifice: He careſſes *Idomeneus* as an old friend, who had promiſed not to forſake him; and meets with an anſwer in that hero's true character, ſhort, honeſt, hearty, and ſoldier like. He praiſes the *Ajaxes* as warriors whoſe examples fir'd the army; and is received by them without any reply, as they were men who did not profeſs ſpeaking. He paſſes next to *Neſtor*, whom he finds talking to his ſoldiers as he marſhall'd them; here he was not to part without a compliment on both ſides; he wiſhes him the ſtrength he had once in his youth, and is anſwer'd with an account of ſomething which the old heroe had done

in

Brave men! he cries (to such who boldly dare
Urge their swift steeds to face the coming war)
Your ancient valour on the foes approve;
Jove is with *Greece*, and let us trust in *Jove*.
'Tis not for us, but guilty *Troy* to dread,
Whose crimes sit heavy on her perjur'd head;
Her sons and matrons *Greece* shall lead in chains,
And her dead warriors strow the mournful plains.
Thus with new ardour he the brave inspires;
Or thus the fearful with reproaches fires.
Shame to your country, scandal of your kind!
Born to the fate ye well deserve to find!
Why stand ye gazing round the dreadful plain,
Prepar'd for flight, but doom'd to fly in vain?

in his former days. From hence he goes to the troops which lay farthest from the place of action; where he finds *Menesthens* and *Ulysses*, not intirely unprepar'd, nor yet in motion, as being ignorant of what had happen'd. He reproves *Ulysses* for this, with words agreeable to the hurry he is in, and receives an answer which suits not ill with the twofold character of a wise and a valiant man: Hereupon *Agamemnon* appears present to himself, and excuses his hasty expressions. The next he meets is *Diomed*, whom he also rebukes for backwardness, but after another manner, by setting before him the example of his father. Thus is *Agamemnon* introduc'd, praising, terrifying, exhorting, blaming, excusing himself, and again relapsing into reproofs; a lively picture of a great mind in the highest emotion. And at the same time the variety is so kept up, with a regard to the different characters of the leaders, that our thoughts are not tired with running along with him over all his army.

Con-

Confus'd and panting, thus, the hunted deer
Falls as he flies, a victim to his fear.
Still muſt ye wait the foes, and ſtill retire,
'Till yon' tall veſſels blaze with *Trojan* fire?
Or truſt ye, *Jove* a valiant foe ſhall chace?
To ſave a trembling, heartleſs daſtard race?
This ſaid, he ſtalk'd with ample ſtrides along,
To *Crete*'s brave monarch and his martial throng;
High at their head he ſaw the chief appear,
And bold *Meriones* excite the rear.
At this the King his gen'rous joy expreſt,
And claſp'd the warrior to his armed breaſt.
Divine *Idomeneus!* what thanks we owe
To worth like thine? what praiſe ſhall we beſtow?
To thee the foremoſt honours are decreed,
First in the fight, and ev'ry graceful deed.
For this, in banquets, when the gen'rous bowls
Reſtore our blood, and raiſe the warrior's ſouls,
Tho'

V. 296. *For this, in banquets.*] The ancients uſually in their feaſts divided to the gueſts by equal portions, except when they took ſome particular occaſion to ſhew diſtinction, and give the preference to any one perſon. It was then look'd upon as the higheſt mark of honour to be allotted the beſt portion of meat and wine, and to be allowed an exemption from the laws of the feaſt, in drinking wine unmingled and without ſtint. This cuſtom was much more ancient than the

time

Tho' all the reſt with ſtated rules we bound,
Unmix'd, unmeaſur'd are thy goblets crown'd.
Be ſtill thy ſelf; in arms a mighty name;
Maintain thy honours, and enlarge thy fame.
To whom the *Cretan* thus his ſpeech addreſt;
Secure of me, O King! exhort the reſt:
Fix'd to thy ſide, in ev'ry toil I ſhare,
Thy firm aſſociate in the day of war.
But let the ſignal be this moment giv'n;
To mix in fight is all I aſk of heav'n.
The field ſhall prove how perjuries ſucceed,
And chains or death avenge their impious deed.
Charm'd with this heat, the King his courſe purſues,
And next the troops of either *Ajax* views:
In one firm orb the bands were ring'd around,
A cloud of heroes blacken'd all the ground.
Thus from the lofty promontory's brow
A ſwain ſurveys the gath'ring ſtorm below;
Slow from the main the heavy vapours riſe,
Spread in dim ſtreams, and ſail along the ſkies,

time of the *Trojan* war, and we find it practiſed in the banquet given by *Joſeph* to his brethren in *Egypt*, Gen. 43. *v. ult.* *And he ſent meſſes to them from before him, but Benjamin's meſs was five times ſo much as any of theirs.* Dacier.

'Till black as night the ſwelling tempeſt ſhows,
The cloud condenſing as the Weſt-wind blows:
He dreads the impending ſtorm, and drives his flock
To the cloſe covert of an arching rock.
Such, and ſo thick, th' embattel'd ſquadrons ſtood,
With ſpears erect, a moving iron wood;
A ſhady light was ſhot from glimm'ring ſhields,
And their brown arms obſcur'd the duſky fields.
O heroes! worthy ſuch a dauntleſs train,
Whoſe godlike virtue we but urge in vain,
(Exclaim'd the King) who raiſe your eager bands
With great examples, more than loud commands.
Ah would the Gods but breathe in all the reſt
Such ſouls as burn in your exalted breaſt!
Soon ſhould our arms with juſt ſucceſs be crown'd,
And *Troy*'s proud walls lie ſmoking on the ground.
Then to the next the Gen'ral bends his courſe;
(His heart exults, and glories in his force)
There rev'rend *Neſtor* ranks his *Pylian* bands,
And with inſpiring eloquence commands:

With

¥. 336. *There rev'rend Neſtor ranks his Pylian bands.*] This is the Prince whom *Homer* chiefly celebrates for martial diſcipline; of the reſt he is content to ſay they were valiant, and ready to fight: The years, long obſervation and experience of *Neſtor*, render'd him the fitteſt perſon to be diſtinguiſhed on this

With ſtricteſt order ſets his train in arms,
The chiefs adviſes, and the ſoldiers warms.
Alaſtor, *Chromius*, *Hamon* round him wait,
Bias the good, and *Pelagon* the great.
The horſe and chariots to the front aſſign'd,
The foot (the ſtrength of war) he rang'd behind;
The middle ſpace ſuſpected troops ſupply,
Inclos'd by both, nor left the pow'r to fly;

He

account. The diſpoſition of his troops in this place (together with what he is made to ſay, that their forefathers uſed the ſame method) may be a proof that the art of war was well known in *Greece* before the time of *Homer*. Nor indeed can it be imagined otherwiſe, in an age when all the world made their acquiſitions by force of arms only. What is moſt to be wonder'd at, is, that they had not the uſe of *cavalry*, all men engaging either on *foot*, or from *chariots* (a particular neceſſary to be known by every reader of *Homer*'s battels.) In theſe chariots there were always two perſons, one of whom only fought, the other was wholly employ'd in managing the Horſes. Madam *Dacier*, in her excellent preface to *Homer*, is of opinion, that there were no horſemen till near the time of *Saul*, threeſcore years after the ſiege of *Troy*; ſo that altho' Cavalry were in uſe in *Homer*'s days, yet he thought himſelf obliged to regard the cuſtoms of the age of which he writ, rather than thoſe of his own.

℣. 344. *The middle ſpace ſuſpected troops ſupply.*] This artifice, of placing thoſe men whoſe behaviour was moſt to be doubted, in the middle, (ſo as to put them under a neceſſity of engaging even againſt their inclinations) was followed by *Hannibal* in the battel of *Zama*; as is obſerved and praiſed by *Polybius*, who quotes this verſe on that occaſion, in acknowledgment of *Homer*'s skill in military diſcipline. That our Author was the firſt maſter of that art in *Greece*, is the opinion of *Ælian*, *Tactic.* c. 1. *Frontinus* gives us another example of *Pyrrhus* King of *Epirus*'s following this Inſtruction of *Homer*. *Vide Stratag. lib.*

He gives command to curb the fiery ſteed,
Nor cauſe confuſion, nor the ranks exceed;
Before the reſt let none too raſhly ride;
No ſtrength nor ſkill, but juſt in time, be try'd:
The charge once made, no warrior turn the rein,
But fight, or fall; a firm, embody'd train.
He whom the fortune of the field ſhall caſt
From forth his chariot, mount the next in haſte;

Nor

lib. 2. *c.* 3. So *Ammianus Marcellinus*, *l.* 14. *Imperator catervit peditum infirmis, medium inter acies ſpatium, ſecundùm Homericam diſpoſitionem præſtituit.*

V. 352. *He whom the fortune of the field ſhall caſt*
From forth his chariot, mount the next—&c.

The words in the original are capable of four different ſignifications, as *Euſtathius* obſerves. This firſt is, that whoever in fighting upon his chariot ſhall win a chariot from his enemy, he ſhall continue to fight, and not retire from the engagement to ſecure his prize. The ſecond, that if any one be thrown out of his chariot, he who happens to be neareſt ſhall hold forth his javelin to help him up into his own. The third is directly the contrary to the laſt, that if any one be caſt from his chariot, and would mount up into another man's, that other ſhall puſh him back with his javelin, and not admit him, for fear of interrupting the combate. The fourth is the ſenſe which is followed in the tranſlation, as ſeeming much the moſt natural, that every one ſhould be left to govern his own chariot, and the other who is admitted, fight only with the javelin. The reaſon of this advice appears by the ſpeech of *Pandarus* to *Æneas* in the next book: *Æneas* having taken him up in his chariot to go againſt *Diomed*, complements him with the choice either to fight, or to manage the reins, which was eſteem'd an office of honour. To this *Pandarus* anſwers, that it is more proper for *Æneas* to guide his own horſes; leſt they not feeling their accuſtomed maſter, ſhould be ungovernable, and bring them into danger.

Upon

Nor ſeek unpractis'd to direct the car,
Content with jav'lins to provoke the war.
Our great forefathers held this prudent courſe,
Thus rul'd their ardour, thus preſerv'd their force;
By laws like theſe immortal conqueſts made,
And earth's proud tyrants low in aſhes laid.
So ſpoke the maſter of the martial art,
And touch'd with tranſport great *Atrides'* heart.
Oh! hadſt thou ſtrength to match thy brave deſires,
And nerves to ſecond what thy ſoul inſpires!
But waſting years that wither human race,
Exhauſt thy ſpirits, and thy arms embrace.

Upon occaſion of the various and contrary ſignifications of which theſe words are ſaid to be capable, and which *Euſtathius* and *Dacier* profeſs to admire as an excellence; Monſ. *de la Motte*, in his late diſcourſe upon *Homer*, very juſtly animadverts, that if this be true, it is a grievous fault in *Homer*. For what can be more abſurd than to imagine, that the orders given in a battel, ſhould be deliver'd in ſuch ambiguous terms, as to be capable of many meanings? Theſe double interpretations muſt proceed not from any deſign in the Author, but purely from the ignorance of the moderns in the *Greek* tongue: It being impoſſible for any one to poſſeſs the dead languages to ſuch a degree, as to be certain of all the graces and negligences; or to know preciſely how far the licences and boldneſſes of expreſſion were happy, or forced, But Criticks, to be thought learned, attribute to the Poet all the random ſenſes that amuſe them, and imagine they ſee in a ſingle word a whole heap of things, which no modern language can expreſs; ſo are oftentimes charmed with nothing but the confuſion of their own ideas.

What once thou wert, oh ever might'ſt thou be!
And age the lot of any chief but thee.
Thus to th' experienc'd Prince *Atrides* cry'd;
He ſhook his hoary locks, and thus reply'd.
Well might I wiſh, could mortal wiſh renew
That ſtrength which once in boiling youth I knew;
Such as I was, when *Ereuthalion* ſlain
Beneath this arm fell proſtrate on the plain.
But heav'n its gifts not all at once beſtows,
Theſe years with wiſdom crowns, with action thoſe:
The field of combate fits the young and bold,
The ſolemn council beſt becomes the old:
To you the glorious conflict I reſign,
Let ſage advice, the palm of age, be mine.
He ſaid. With joy the monarch march'd before,
And found *Meneſtheus* on the duſty ſhore,
With whom the firm *Athenian* Phalanx ſtands;
And next *Ulyſſes*, with his ſubject bands.
Remote their forces lay, nor knew ſo far
The peace infring'd, nor heard the ſounds of war;

The

v. 384. *Remote their forces lay.*] This is a reaſon why the troops of *Ulyſſes* and *Meneſtheus* were not yet in motion. Tho' another may be added in reſpect to the former, that it did not conſiſt with the wiſdom of *Ulyſſes* to fall on with his forces 'till

The tumult late begun, they ſtood intent
To watch the motion, dubious of th' event.
The King, who ſaw their ſquadrons yet unmov'd,
With haſty ardour thus the chiefs reprov'd.
Can *Peteus'* ſon forget a warrior's part,
And fears *Ulyſſes*, ſkill'd in ev'ry art?
Why ſtand you diſtant, and the reſt expect
To mix in combate which your ſelves neglect?
From you 'twas hop'd among the firſt to dare
The ſhock of armies, and commence the war.
For this your names are call'd, before the reſt,
To ſhare the pleaſures of the genial feaſt:
And can you, chiefs! without a bluſh ſurvey
Whole troops before you lab'ring in the fray?
Say, is it thus thoſe honours you requite?
The firſt in banquets, but the laſt in fight.
Ulyſſes heard: The hero's warmth o'erſpread
His cheek with bluſhes; and ſevere, he ſaid:
Take back th' unjuſt reproach! Behold we ſtand
Sheath'd in bright arms, and but expect command.

'till he was well aſſur'd. Tho' courage be no inconſiderable part of his character, yet it is always join'd with great caution. Thus we ſee him ſoon after in the very heat of battel, when his friend was juſt ſlain before his eyes, firſt looking carefully about him, before he would throw his ſpear to revenge him.

If glorious deeds afford thy ſoul delight,
Behold me plunging in the thickeſt fight.
Then give thy warrior-chief a warrior's due,
Who dares to act whate'er thou dar'ſt to view.
Struck with his gen'rous wrath, the King replies;
Oh great in action, and in council wiſe!
With ours, thy care and ardour are the ſame,
Nor need I to command, nor ought to blame.
Sage as thou art, and learn'd in human kind,
Forgive the tranſport of a martial mind.
Haſte to the fight, ſecure of juſt amends;
The Gods that make, ſhall keep the worthy, friends.
He ſaid, and paſs'd where great *Tydides* lay,
His ſteeds and chariots wedg'd in firm array:
(The warlike *Sthenelus* attends his ſide)
To whom with ſtern reproach the monarch cry'd.
Oh ſon of *Tydeus*! (he, whoſe ſtrength could tame
The bounding ſteed, in arms a mighty name)
Can'ſt thou, remote, the mingling hoſts deſcry,
With hands unactive, and a careleſs eye?
Not thus thy Sire the fierce encounter fear'd;
Still firſt in front the mateleſs Prince appear'd:
What glorious toils, what wonders they recite,
Who view'd him lab'ring thro' the ranks of fight!

I ſaw

I saw him once, when gath'ring martial pow'rs
A peaceful guest, he sought *Mycene*'s tow'rs;
Armies he ask'd, and armies had been giv'n,
Not we deny'd, but *Jove* forbad from heav'n;
While dreadful comets glaring from afar
Forewarn'd the horrors of the *Theban* war.
Next, sent by *Greece* from where *Asopus* flows,
A fearless envoy, he approach'd the foes;
Thebes hostile walls, unguarded and alone,
Dauntless he enters, and demands the throne.
The tyrant feasting with his chiefs he found,
And dar'd to combate all those chiefs around;
Dar'd and subdu'd, before their haughty Lord;
For *Pallas* strung his arm, and edg'd his sword.
Stung with the shame, within the winding way,
To bar his passage fifty warriors lay;
Two heroes led the secret squadron on,
Maon the fierce, and hardy *Lycophon*;

℣. 430. *I saw him him once, when,* &c.] This long narration concerning the history of *Tydeus*, is not of the nature of those for which *Homer* has been blam'd with some colour of justice: It is not a cold story, but a warm reproof, while the particularising the actions of the father is made the highest incentive to the son. Accordingly the air of this speech ought to be inspirited above the common narrative style. As for the story it self, it is finely told by *Statius* in the second book of the *Thebais*.

Thoſe fifty ſlaughter'd in the gloomy vale,
He ſpar'd but one to bear the dreadful tale.
Such *Tydeus* was, and ſuch his martial fire;
Gods! how the ſon degen'rates from the ſire?
No words the Godlike *Diomed* return'd,
But heard reſpectful, and in ſecret burn'd:
Not ſo fierce *Capaneus'* undaunted ſon,
Stern as his ſire, the boaſter thus begun.
What needs, O monarch, this invidious praiſe,
Our ſelves to leſſen, while our ſires you raiſe?
Dare to be juſt, *Atrides!* and confeſs
Our valour equal, tho' our fury leſs.

¶. 452. *No words the godlike* Diomed *return'd.*] "When *Diomed* is reproved by *Agamemnon*, he holds his peace in reſpect to his General; but *Sthenelus* retorts upon him with boaſting and inſolence. It is here worth obſerving in what manner *Agamemnon* behaves himſelf; he paſſes by *Sthenelus* without affording any reply; whereas juſt before, when *Ulyſſes* teſtify'd his reſentment, he immediately return'd him an anſwer. For as it is a mean and ſervile thing, and unbecoming the majeſty of a Prince, to make apologies to every man in juſtification of what he has ſaid or done; ſo to treat all men with equal neglect is mere pride and exceſs of folly. We alſo ſee of *Diomed*, that tho' he refrains from ſpeaking in this place, when the time demanded action; he afterwards expreſſes himſelf in ſuch a manner, as ſhews him not to have been inſenſible of this unjuſt rebuke: (*in the ninth book*) when he tells the King, he was the firſt who had dar'd to reproach him with want of courage." *Plutarch of reading the Poets.*

With

With fewer troops we ſtorm'd the *Theban* wall,
And happier, ſaw the ſev'nfold city fall.
In impious acts the guilty fathers dy'd;
The ſons ſubdu'd, for heav'n was on their ſide.
Far more than heirs of all our parent's fame,
Our glories darken their diminiſh'd name.
To him *Tydides* thus. My friend forbear,
Suppreſs thy paſſion, and the King revere:
His high concern may well excuſe this rage,
Whoſe cauſe we follow, and whoſe war we wage;
His the firſt praiſe, were *Ilion*'s tow'rs o'erthrown,
And, if we fail, the chief diſgrace his own.
Let him the *Greeks* to hardy toils excite,
'Tis ours, to labour in the glorious fight.
He ſpoke, and ardent, on the trembling ground
Sprung from his car; his ringing arms reſound.
Dire was the clang, and dreadful from afar,
Of arm'd *Tydides'* ruſhing to the war.

¶. 460. *We ſtorm'd the* Theban *wall.*] The firſt *Theban* war, of which *Agamemnon* ſpoke in the preceding lines, was ſeven and twenty years before the war of *Troy*. *Sthenelus* here ſpeaks of the ſecond *Theban* war, which happen'd ten years after the firſt: when the ſons of the ſeven captains conquer'd the city, before which their fathers were deſtroyed. *Tydeus* expired gnawing the head of his enemy, and *Capaneus* was thunder-ſtruck while he blaſphemed *Jupiter*. *Vid. Stat. Thebaid.*

As when the winds, aſcending by degrees,
Firſt move the whitening ſurface of the ſeas,

The

V. 478. *As when the winds.*] Madam *Dacier* thinks it may ſeem ſomething odd, that an army going to conquer ſhould be compared to the waves going to break themſelves againſt the ſhore; and would ſolve the appearing abſurdity, by imagining the Poet laid not the ſtreſs ſo much upon this circumſtance, as upon the ſame waves aſſaulting a rock, lifting themſelves over its head, and covering it with foam as the *trophy of their victory* (as ſhe expreſſes it.) But to this it may be anſwer'd, That neither did the *Greeks* get the better in this battel, nor will a compariſon be allow'd intirely beautiful, which inſtead of illuſtrating its ſubject, ſtands itſelf in need of ſo much illuſtration and refinement, to be brought to agree with it. The paſſage naturally bears this ſenſe: *As when, upon the riſing of the wind, the waves roll after one another to the ſhore; as firſt there is a diſtant motion in the ſea, then they approach to break with noiſe on the ſtrand, and laſtly riſe ſwelling over the rocks, and toſs their foam above their heads: So the* Greeks, *at firſt, marched in order one after another ſilently to the fight* — Where the Poet breaks off from proſecuting the compariſon, and by a *prolepſis*, leaves the reader to carry it on, and image to himſelf the future tumult, rage, and force of the battel, in oppoſition to that ſilence in which he deſcribes the troops at preſent, in the lines immediately enſuing. What confirms this expoſition is, that *Virgil* has made uſe of the ſimile in the ſame ſenſe in the ſeventh *Æneid*.

Fluctus uti primo cœpit cùm albeſcere vento,
Paulatim ſeſe tollit mare, & altiùs undas
Erigit; inde imo conſurgit ad æthera fundo.

V. 478. *As when the winds,* &c.] This is the firſt battel in *Homer*, and it is worthy obſervation with what grandeur it is deſcrib'd, and raiſed by one circumſtance above another, 'till all is involv'd in horror and tumult: The foregoing ſimile of the winds, riſing by degrees into a general tempeſt, is an image of the progreſs of his own ſpirit in this deſcription. We ſee firſt an innumerable army moving in order, and are amus'd with the pomp and ſilence; then waken'd with the noiſe

The billows float in order to the ſhore,
The wave behind rolls on the wave before;
Till, with the growing ſtorm, the deeps ariſe,
Foam o'er the rocks, and thunder to the ſkies,
So to the fight the thick *Battalions* throng,
Shields urg'd on ſhields, and men drove men along.
Sedate and ſilent move the num'rous bands;
No ſound, no whiſper, but their Chief's commands,
Thoſe only heard; with awe the reſt obey,
As if ſome God had ſnatch'd their voice away.
Not ſo the *Trojans*; from their hoſt aſcends
A gen'ral ſhout that all the region rends.
As when the fleecy flocks unnumber'd ſtand
In wealthy folds, and wait the milker's hand,
The hollow vales inceſſant bleating fills,
The lambs reply from all the neighb'ring hills:
Such clamours roſe from various nations round
Mix'd was the murmur, and confus'd the ſound.
Each hoſt now joins, and each a God inſpires,
Theſe *Mars* incites, and thoſe *Minerva* fires.

noiſe and clamour; next they join; the adverſe Gods are let down among them; the imaginary perſons of *Terror*, *Flight*, *Diſcord*, ſucceed to re-inforce them; then all is undiſtinguiſh'd fury, and a confuſion of Horrors, only that at different openings we behold the diſtinct deaths of ſeveral heroes, and then are involv'd again in the ſame confuſion.

Pale *Flight* around, and dreadful *Terror* reign;
And *Diſcord* raging bathes the purple plain:
Diſcord! dire ſiſter of the ſlaught'ring pow'r,
Small at her birth, but riſing ev'ry hour,
While

v. 502. *Diſcord! dire ſiſter*, &c.] This is the paſſage ſo highly extoll'd by *Longinus*, as one of the moſt ſignal inſtances of the noble ſublimity of this author: where it is ſaid, that the image here drawn of Diſcord, *whoſe head touch'd the heavens*, and *whoſe feet were on earth*, may as juſtly be apply'd to the vaſt reach and elevation of the genius of *Homer*. But Monſ. *Boileau* informs us, that neither the quotation nor theſe words were in the original of *Longinus*, but partly inſerted by *Gabriel de Petra*. However the beſt encomium is, that *Virgil* has taken it word for word, and apply'd it to the perſon of *Fame*.

Parva metu primò, mox ſeſe attollit in auras,
Ingrediturque ſolo, & caput inter nubila condit.

Ariſtides had formerly blamed *Homer* for admitting *Diſcord* into heaven, and *Scaliger* takes up the criticiſm to throw him below *Virgil*. *Fame* (he ſays) is properly feign'd to hide her head in the clouds, becauſe the grounds and authors of rumours are commonly unknown. As if the ſame might not be alledg'd for *Homer*, ſince the grounds and authors of *Diſcord* are often no leſs ſecret. *Macrobius* has put this among the paſſages where he thinks *Virgil* has fallen ſhort in his imitation of *Homer*, and brings theſe reaſons for his opinion: *Homer* repreſents *Diſcord* to riſe from ſmall beginnings, and afterwards in her encreaſe to reach the heavens; *Virgil* has ſaid this of *Fame*, but not with equal propriety; for the ſubjects are very different: *Diſcord*, tho' it reaches to war and devaſtation, is ſtill *Diſcord*; nor ceaſes to be what it was at firſt: But *Fame*, when it grows to be univerſal, is *Fame* no longer, but becomes knowledge and certainty; for who calls any thing *Fame*, which is known from earth to heaven? Nor has *Virgil* equall'd the ſtrength of *Homer*'s hyperbole, for one ſpeaks of *heaven*, the other only of the *clouds*. *Macrob. Sat. l. 5. c. 13.* *Scaliger* is very angry at this laſt period,

d

While ſcarce the ſkies her horrid head can bound,
She ſtalks on earth, and ſhapes the world around;
The nations bleed, where-e'er her ſteps ſhe turns,
The groan ſtill deepens, and the combate burns.

and by miſtake blames *Gellius* for it, in whom there is no ſuch thing. His words are ſo inſolently dogmatical, that barely to quote them is to anſwer them, and the only anſwer which ſuch a ſpirit of criticiſm deſerves. *Clamant quid Maro de Famâ dixit eam inter nubila caput condere, cùm tamen Homerus unde ipſe accepit, in cœlo caput Eridis conſtituit. Jam tibi pro me reſpondeo. Non ſum imitatus, nolo imitari: non placet, non eſt verum, Contentionem ponere caput in cœlo, Ridiculum eſt, fatuum eſt, Homericum eſt, Graculum eſt.* Poet. l. 5. c. 3.

This fine verſe was alſo criticis'd by Monſ. *Perault*, who accuſes it as a forc'd and extravagant hyperbole. M. *Boileau* anſwers, That hyperboles as ſtrong are daily uſed even in common diſcourſe, and that nothing is in effect more ſtrictly true than that *Diſcord* reigns over all the earth, and in heaven itſelf; that is to ſay, among the Gods of *Homer*. It is not (continues this excellent critick) the deſcription of a giant, as this cenſor would pretend, but a juſt allegory; and as he makes *Diſcord* an allegorical perſon, ſhe may be of what ſize he pleaſes without ſhocking us; ſince it is what we regard only as an idea and creature of the fancy, and not as a material ſubſtance that has any being in nature. The expreſſion in the *Pſalms*, that the *impious man is lifted up as a cedar of* Libanus, does by no means imply that the impious man was a giant as tall as a cedar. Thus far *Boileau*; and upon the whole we may obſerve, that it ſeems not only the fate of great genius's to have met with the moſt malignant criticks, but of the fineſt and nobleſt paſſages in them to have been particularly pitch'd upon for impertinent criticiſms. Theſe are the divine boldneſſes, which in their very nature provoke ignorance and ſhort-ſightedneſs to ſhew themſelves; and which whoever is capable of attaining, muſt alſo certainly know, that they will be attack'd by ſuch, as cannot reach them.

Now

Now ſhield with ſhield, with helmet helmet cloſ'd,
To armour armour, lance to lance oppos'd,
Hoſt againſt hoſt with ſhadowy ſquadrons drew,
The ſounding darts in iron tempeſts flew,
Victors and vanquiſh'd join promiſcuous cries,
And ſhrilling ſhouts and dying groans ariſe;
With ſtreaming blood the ſlipp'ry fields are dy'd,
And ſlaughter'd heroes ſwell the dreadful tide.
As torrents roll, encreas'd by num'rous rills,
With rage impetuous down their echoing hills;

℣. 508. *Now ſhield with ſhield*, &c.] The verſes which follow in the original are perhaps excell'd by none in *Homer*; and that he had himſelf a particular fondneſs for them, may be imagin'd from his inſerting them again in the ſame words in the eighth book. They are very happily imitated by *Statius*, *lib.* 7.

Jam clypeus clypeis, umbone repellitur umbo
Enſe minax enſis, pede pes, & cuſpide cuſpis, &c.

℣. 516. *As torrents roll.*] This compariſon of rivers meeting and roaring, with two armies mingling in battel, is an image of that nobleneſs, which (to ſay no more) was worthy the invention of *Homer*, and the imitation of *Virgil*.

Aut ubi deciurſu rapido de montibus altis,
Dant ſonitum ſpumoſi omnes, & in æquora currunt,
Quiſque ſuum populatus iter; ——— *Stupet inſcius alto*
Accipiens ſonitum ſaxi de vertice paſtor.

The word *populatus* here has a beauty which one muſt be inſenſible not to obſerve. *Scaliger* prefers *Virgil*'s, and *Macrobius Homer*'s, without any reaſons on either ſide, but only one critick's poſitive words againſt another's. The reader may judge between them.

Ruſh

Ruſh to the vales, and pour'd along the plain,
Roar thro' a thouſand chanels to the main;
The diſtant ſhepherd trembling hears the ſound:
So mix both hoſts, and ſo their cries rebound.
The bold *Antilochus* the ſlaughter led,
The firſt who ſtrook a valiant *Trojan* dead:
At great *Echepolus* the lance arrives,
Raz'd his high creſt, and thro' his helmet drives;
Warm'd in the brain the brazen weapon lies,
And ſhades eternal ſettle o'er his eyes.
So ſinks a tow'r, that long aſſaults had ſtood
Of force and fire; its walls beſmear'd with blood.
Him, the bold * Leader of th' *Abantian* throng
Seiz'd to deſpoil, and dragg'd the corps along:
But while he ſtrove to tug th' inſerted dart,
Agenor's jav'lin reach'd the heroe's heart.
His flank, unguarded by his ample ſhield,
Admits the lance: He falls, and ſpurns the field;
The nerves unbrac'd ſupport his limbs no more;
The ſoul comes floating in a tide of gore.

* *Elphenor.*

¥. 522. *The bold* Antilochus.] *Antilochus* the ſon of *Neſtor* is the firſt who begins the engagement. It ſeems as if the old heroe having done the greateſt ſervice he was capable of at his years, in diſpoſing the troops in the beſt order (as we have ſeen before) had taken care to ſet his ſon at the head of them, to give him the glory of beginning the battel.

Trojans

Trojans and *Greeks* now gather round the ſlain;
The war renews, the warriors bleed again;
As o'er their prey rapacious wolves engage,
Man dies on man, and all is blood and rage.
In blooming youth fair *Simoïſius* fell,
Sent by great *Ajax* to the ſhades of hell:
Fair *Simoïſius*, whom his mother bore
Amid the flocks on ſilver *Simois'* ſhore:
The nymph deſcending from the hills of *Ide*,
To ſeek her parents on his flow'ry ſide,
Brought forth the babe, their common care and joy,
And thence from *Simois* nam'd the lovely boy.

℣. 540. *As o'er their prey rapacious wolves engage.*] This ſhort compariſon in the *Greek* conſiſts only of two words, Λυκοὶ ὤς, which *Scaliger* obſerves upon as too abrupt. But may it not be anſwer'd that ſuch a place as this, where all things are in confuſion, ſeems not to admit of any ſimile, except of one which ſcarce exceeds a metaphor in length? When two heroes are engag'd, there is a plain view to be given us of their actions, and there a long ſimile may be of uſe to raiſe and enliven them by parallel circumſtances; but when the troops fall in promiſcuouſly upon one another, the confuſion excludes diſtinct or particular images; and conſequently compariſons of any length would be leſs natural.

℣. 542. *In blooming youth fair* Simoïſius *fell.*] This Prince receiv'd his name from the river *Simoïs*, on whoſe banks he was born. It was the cuſtom of the eaſtern people to give names to their children deriv'd from the moſt remarkable accidents of their birth. The holy ſcripture is full of examples of this kind. It is alſo uſual in the Old Teſtament to compare Princes to trees, cedars, *&c.* as *Simoïſius* is here reſembled to a poplar. *Dacier.*

Short

Short was his date! by dreadful *Ajax* ſlain
He falls, and renders all their cares in vain!
So falls a poplar, that in watry ground
Rais'd high the head, with ſtately branches crown'd,
(Fell'd by ſome artiſt with his ſhining ſteel,
To ſhape the circle of the bending wheel)

¶. 552. *So falls a poplar.*] *Euſtathius* in *Macrobius* prefers to this ſimile that of *Virgil* in the ſecond *Æneid.*

Ac veluti in ſummis antiquam montibus ornum,
Cùm ferro acciſam crebriſque bipennibus inſtant
Eruere agricolæ certatim; illa uſque minatur,
Et tremefacta comam concuſſo vertice nutat;
Vulneribus donec paulatim evicta ſupremùm
Congemuit, traxitque jugis avulſa ruinam.

Mr. *Hobbes*, in the preface to his tranſlation of *Homer*, has diſcours'd upon this occaſion very judiciouſly. *Homer* (ſays he) intended no more in this place than to ſhew how comely the body of *Simoïſius* appear'd as he lay dead upon the bank of *Scamander*, ſtrait and tall, with a fair head of hair, like a ſtrait and high poplar with the boughs ſtill on; and not at all to deſcribe the manner of his falling, which (when a man is wounded thro' the breaſt, as he was with a ſpear) is always ſudden. *Virgil*'s is the deſcription of a great tree falling when many men together hew it down. He meant to compare the manner how *Troy* after many battels, and after the loſs of many cities, conquer'd by the many nations under *Agamemnon* in a long war, was thereby weaken'd, and at laſt overthrown, with a great tree hewn round about, and then falling by little and little leiſurely. So that neither theſe two deſcriptions, nor the two compariſons, can be compared togther. The image of a man lying on the ground is one thing; the image of falling (eſpecially of a kingdom) is another. This therefore gives no advantage to *Virgil* over *Homer*. Thus Mr. *Hobbes*.

Cut

Cut down it lies, tall, ſmooth, and largely ſpread,
With all its beauteous honours on its head;
There left a ſubject to the wind and rain,
And ſcorch'd by ſuns, it withers on the plain.
Thus pierc'd by *Ajax*, *Simoïſius* lies
Stretch'd on the ſhore, and thus neglected dies.
At *Ajax*, *Antiphus* his jav'lin threw;
The pointed lance with erring fury flew,
And *Leucus*, lov'd by wiſe *Ulyſſes*, ſlew.
He drops the corps of *Simoïſius* ſlain,
And ſinks a breathleſs carcaſs on the plain.
This ſaw *Ulyſſes*, and with grief enrag'd
Strode where the foremoſt of the foes engag'd;
Arm'd with his ſpear, he meditates the wound,
In act to throw; but cautious, look'd around.
Struck at his ſight the *Trojans* backward drew,
And trembling heard the jav'lin as it flew.
A chief ſtood nigh who from *Abydos* came,
Old *Priam*'s ſon, *Democoön* was his name;
The weapon enter'd cloſe above his ear,
Cold thro' his temples glides the whizzing ſpear;
With piercing ſhrieks the youth reſigns his breath,
His eye-balls darken with the ſhades of death;

Pond'rous

Pond'rous he falls; his clanging arms reſound;
And his broad buckler rings againſt the ground.
Seiz'd with affright the boldeſt foes appear;
Ev'n godlike *Hector* ſeems himſelf to fear;
Slow he gave way, the reſt tumultuous fled;
The *Greeks* with ſhouts preſs on, and ſpoil the dead,
But *Phœbus* now from *Ilion*'s tow'ring height
Shines forth reveal'd, and animates the fight.
Trojans be bold, and force with force oppoſe;
Your foaming ſteeds urge headlong on the foes!
Nor are their bodies rocks, nor ribb'd with ſteel;
Your weapons enter, and your ſtrokes they feel.
Have ye forgot what ſeem'd your dread before?
The great, the fierce *Achilles* fights no more.

℣. 585. *But* Phœbus *now.*] *Homer* here introduces *Apollo* on the ſide of the *Trojans*: He had given them the aſſiſtance of *Mars* at the beginning of this battel; but *Mars* (which ſignifies courage without conduct) proving too weak to reſiſt *Minerva* (or courage with conduct) which the Poet repreſents as conſtantly aiding his *Greeks*; they want ſome prudent management to rally them again: He therefore brings in a *Wiſdom* to aſſiſt *Mars*, under the appearance of *Apollo*.

℣. 592. Achilles *fights no more.*] *Homer* from time to time puts his readers in mind of *Achilles*, during his abſence from the war; and finds occaſions of celebrating his valour with the higheſt praiſes. There cannot be a greater encomium than this, where *Apollo* himſelf tells the *Trojans* they have nothing to fear, ſince *Achilles* fights no longer againſt them. *Dacier.*

Apollo

Apollo thus from *Ilion*'s lofty tow'rs
Array'd in terrors, rowz'd the *Trojan* pow'rs:
While War's fierce Goddeſs fires the *Grecian* foe,
And ſhouts and thunders in the fields below.
Then great *Diores* fell, by doom divine,
In vain his valour, and illuſtrious line.
A broken rock the force of *Pirus* threw,
(Who from cold *Ænus* led the *Thracian* crew)
Full on his ankle dropt the pond'rous ſtone,
Burſt the ſtrong nerves, and craſh'd the ſolid bone:
Supine he tumbles on the crimſon'd ſands,
Before his helpleſs friends, and native bands
And ſpreads for aid his unavailing hands.
The foes ruſh'd furious as he pants for breath,
And thro' his navel drove the pointed death:
His guſhing entrails ſmoak'd upon the ground,
And the warm life came iſſuing from the wound.
His lance bold *Thoas* at the conqu'ror ſent,
Deep in his breaſt above the pap it went,
Amid the lungs was fix'd the winged wood,
And quiv'ring in his heaving boſom ſtood:
'Till from the dying chief, approaching near,
Th' *Ætolian* warrior tugg'd his weighty ſpear:

Then

Then ſudden wav'd his flaming faulchion round,
And gaſh'd his belly with a ghaſtly wound.
The corps now breathleſs on the bloody plain,
To ſpoil his arms the victor ſtrove in vain;
The *Thracian* bands againſt the victor preſt;
A grove of lances glitter'd at his breaſt.
Stern *Thoas*, glaring with revengeful eyes,
In ſullen fury ſlowly quits the prize.
Thus fell two Heroes; one the pride of *Thrace*,
And one the Leader of th' *Epeian* race;
Death's ſable ſhade at once o'ercaſt their eyes,
In duſt the vanquiſh'd, and the victor lies.
With copious ſlaughter all the fields are red,
And heap'd with growing mountains of the dead.
Had ſome brave Chief this martial ſcene beheld,
By *Pallas* guarded thro' the dreadful field,

Might

†. 630. *Had ſome brave chief.*] The turning off in this place from the actions of the field, to repreſent to us a man with ſecurity and calmneſs walking thro' it, without being able to reprehend any thing in the whole action; this is not only a fine praiſe of the battel, but as it were a breathing-place to the poetical ſpirit of the author, after having rapidly run along with the heat of the engagement: He ſeems like one who having got over a part of his journey, ſtops upon an eminence to look back upon the ſpace he has paſs'd, and concludes the book with an agreeable pauſe or reſpite.

The reader will excuſe our taking notice of ſuch a trifle, as that it was an old ſuperſtition, that this fourth book of the *Iliads*

Might darts be bid to turn their points away,
And ſwords around him innocently play,
The wars whole art with wonder had he ſeen,
And counted heroes where he counted Men.
So fought each hoſt, with thirſt of glory fir'd,
And crowds on crowds triumphantly expir'd.

Iliads being laid under the head, was a cure for the *Quartan Ague*. *Serenus Sammonicus*, a celebrated phyſician in the time of the younger *Gordian*, and preceptor to that Emperor, has gravely preſcrib'd it among other receipts in his medicinal precepts, *Prac.* 50.

Maonia Iliados quartum ſuppone timenti.

I believe it will be found a true obſervation, that there never was any thing ſo abſurd or ridiculous, but has at one time or other been written even by ſome author of reputation: A reflexion it may not be improper for writers to make, as being at once ſome mortification to their vanity, and ſome comfort to their infirmity.

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